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A CALM
DEFENCE
OF THE
DEITY
OF
JESUS CHRIST.

In REMARKS on a
LETTER to a DISSENTER
at *Exeter.*

By JOHN MOOR,
of Tiverton.

The Second Edition.



L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN CLARK, at the Bible
and Crown in the Poultry, near Cheap-
side, 1719.

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SIR,



You are not altogether unconcern'd in the Disturbance that has been in Exeter, about some novel Notions advanced and eagerly propagated there of late; so I cannot well deny my Remarks on a Letter, which I was led by you to the Perusal of, though a considerable time after its Publication.

(a) THE *Doctrine of the Trinity*, particularly the Deity of Christ which it attacks, is mentioned as a Matter of *abstruse Speculation*; and sometimes to serve a Turn, that the Errors about it may pass, and be diffused with less Observation, 'tis spoken of as not deserving *so much Zeal* and

(a) Letter p. 3.

Animadversion, as not being Fundamental, or of so great Concernment to Christians, as the common and receiv'd Opinion makes it. Tho' yet the Author truly says (*a*) *That an honest Man and a good Christian can hardly satisfy his Conscience without making Inquiry into a Subject of such Moment and Importance as this.* And good Men have been wont to suppose, the Doctrine under debate not only to be clearly taught in the sacred Scriptures, but the Center and Support of revealed Religion, and that the most important Articles of Christian Belief have a necessary Dependence upon it; and to consider it as a particular Foundation of their Hope and Trust, as what runs thro' the Vitals of their Religion, regulates the whole of their Worship, and infers strongest Obligations unto Love, Gratitude, and Duty.

OUR Author (*b*) *wishes that the Gentlemen who acted with so much Zeal, had thought fit to use a little more Consideration.* What Consideration he himself used while he so freely blames the forward Zeal of others, we are left to guess, by his confessing, that a just and full Account had not been laid before him. And what Prejudice had it been to him, or the Cause he maintains, if he had suspended his Censure, and Insinuation, so much to the Disadvantage of those, whose Reasons and Defence he had not heard?

HE well observes, that (*c*) *Every Christian has an Interest at Stake, when the Controversy is about the supreme Object of Worship,* All are, without doubt, concern'd to know whom they are to worship, and in what manner; and the meanest Tradesman hath as good a Right to search into matters that concern Salvation, as the profoundest

Philosopher. Yet it is far from being necessary, that either the one, or the other, do fully understand, and be able distinctly to explain all that is to be believ'd concerning that same Object of Worship. We must conceive it to be a self-existent and eternal Being, and yet we are unable to comprehend and explain the Nature and Manner of Eternity and Self-Existence. Indeed it lies as a just Prejudice against the Scheme these Gentleman appear so fond of, that in order to draw the Scriptures to give any tolerable Countenance to it, and divert the Proofs that are brought for the contrary, 'tis found necessary to employ all the Quirks of Wit, and Arts of Criticism, that Men of such Parts and Learning are Masters of; whereas the Scriptures are design'd to instruct all sorts of Men, even of the meanest Capacities, in Things necessary to the pleasing of God, and the saving of their Souls. Nor does it give me a very favourable Opinion of *Arianism*, to find Mr. *Whiston* so little to rely upon Scripture Proof, as to labour with the Expence of such Pains and Learning, to bring in so many spurious, suspected, or adulterated Works of ignorant Antiquity to be receiv'd as inspired Writings, of equal Authority with the Holy Scriptures, especially considering how often Defect of Argument is supply'd by bold and precarious Conjecture; and what Advantage is hereby given to the Enemies of reveal'd Religion, who have taken Encouragement to treat the undoubted Oracles of Truth with Neglect and Contempt.

OUR Author shews some concern, (a) *That a Doubt is made, whether Christians may bear or receive the Sacraments from Ministers, of the Sound-*

ness of whose Judgments in these Points they are not fully perswaded. It will be acknowledg'd that there is a Difference between *not being fully perswaded*, were Sentiments are concealed, and having convincing Evidence, or plain and sufficient Grounds of Suspicion. People have without doubt a Right to be satisfy'd in the Ministers they stately communicate with, or commit the Care of their Souls to, that they be found in the Faith. And if perswaded in their Consciences that they shall be in danger of being drawn into Errors, which will greatly prejudice their Edification, if not hazard the undoing of their Souls, they may well desire to be excus'd from running such a needless Hazard, or having such a Ministry impos'd upon 'em, and think it their Duty to prefer such an One, as they can with more Safety and Comfort attend upon. Especially considering what an *Interest is at Stake, when the Controversy is about the supreme Object of Worship*; and when 'tis no less than the Crime of Idolatry that is justly feared, on the one side or on the other. And whence it comes to pass, (a) *That there is a Scruple only on one Side of the Division*, I can't well comprehend, except it be to serve a present Design, to amuse the People by an artful Compliance, till the Party be formed and its Strength thought sufficient, at once to throw off the Disguise, and to crush such as shall think themselves oblig'd to stand in Defence of the Truth and the Purity of Worship, when they may in earnest, as seems to be threatned, (b) *find themselves affected with the Consequences*. What was the Spirit of the antient *Arians*, and what Outrages they committed against the Faith, is not unknown to such

as are not altogether Strangers to Ecclesiastical History. One would hope to find the Modern in a better Temper and Disposition. However Persecution, or civil Penalties and Hardships on the Account of Religion, ought on all Sides to be utterly disclaim'd, and God's Empire over Conscience to be left untouched. But while we (a) make a just Allowance for different Ways of thinking, and forbear to condemn one another, it follows not that 'tis necessary or warrantable for me ordinarily to communicate with a Minister, whom I believe to be in a dangerous Error, by means of which my Acceptance with God, and eternal Interest are like to be prejudic'd. Nor can that be term'd or constru'd a Persecution, if I take the Course, that God and Reason direct, to provide for my Safety. He has given me a Power to choose for my self, and made it my Duty to guard against manifest Danger and Temptation, and use the best and most likely Means for my Edification; nor can I think it safe, much less my Duty, to live under the Ministry of a Socinian or Jesuit, when Providence affords me better Help and Means for Salvation.

(b) THE like may be said in a great measure in reference to Prayer. What reason can I have to confine my self to the Ministry of such as agree not with me in the same Object and Manner of Worship, when I am at Liberty to join in so solemn a Part of Worship as Prayer, where my Mind may be easy and my Affections united? else I must be ever upon my guard, under continual Fear, Distrust and Distraction. Besides that there can be little Comfort or Satisfaction in Prayer, when my Minister addresses not to the

(1) Letter p. 6. (2) Ibid.

Blessed Jesus, but as a Creature, or another Being than the supreme God, and I still consider and adore him as one with the Father. Now what (*a*) *Discretion* is in that *Worship*, which is manag'd with such disunited Minds, and distracted Affections ? And how little ground for (*b*) *amazement*, if *Dissenters*, who make the *Scriptures the only Rule of their Worship*, should be uneasy with Arian *Ministers*, under the plausible Pretence that they may make use of scriptural, though ambiguous, Expressions?

N O R can I see reason for the artful Insinuation, that Heats and (*c*) *Outcries are substituted in the place of manly Arguments and clear Proofs*, when the just Danger of Errors that subvert the Faith, and tend to the Ruin of Souls, is represented. As we want not manly Arguments, which we are not ashamed to produce in Confirmation of the Truth ; so we judge it not any Breach of Justice or Charity to call that by the Name of Heresy, which overthrows, and stands in opposition to a Truth of so great Moment and Importance.

W H A T is absolutely (*d*) *fundamental*, or *absolutely necessary to Salvation*, we need not be very forward to determine ; nor what allowances a gracious God may make for the different Circumstances, Education, and Prejudices of Men, who, while they use some honest Means for Information, fall into great Errors (yet how we can expect to be (*e*) *Sanctified*, and (*f*) *made free*, but by the Truth I know not) ; however this hinders not, but such Errors may have a fatal Tendency in themselves, and may greatly endanger the Souls of such as are entangled in 'em : Nor

(*a*) *Letter p. 7.* (*b*) *Ibid.* (*c*) *Ibid. p. 8.* (*d*) *Ibid. p. 8. 9.*
 (*e*) *John xviii. 17.* (*f*) *Ibid. viii. 12.*

should we treat 'em as harmless things, tho' their deadly Effects should happen to be prevented by sovereign Goodness. 'Tis possible that a Man may have the Plague, and escape with his Life; yet 'twoud be desperate Temerity and Presumption, needlessly, to run among the infected: We are not forward to pronounce damnatory Sentences, yet are willing to deliver our Souls, where are manifest Symptoms of Danger.

We can't be easily drawn to believe, that a Difference in the great and main Articles of Christian Faith, is (*a*) *a meer Difference in Opinion*; and are not ignorant of the intemperate Heats and Passions, that have been on that Side of the Division, which our Author seems willing to excuse and screen, as (*b*) *under very great Provocations and Injury*; but this may be owing to Misrepresentation and the partial Accounts which were given him. And I would by no Means justify or plead for Injuries or Provocations on either Side. Truth needs none of these Managements or Supports; but is really wounded and injur'd by 'em. Tho' our Neighbours may have entertain'd dangerous Opinions, we censure 'em not presently, as Firebrands of Hell, but wou'd hope that the pernicious Influence and Effect upon their Hearts and Lives, may be mercifully intercepted, and the Prejudices, Mistakes and Failures they have been led into, may be pardon'd; yet think it not Wisdom to venture on a Precipice or Temptation, because 'tis not impossible to escape.

WHAT has been suggested about Fundamental Articles, may justly supersede further Alteration and Discourse; and it has been observed of what Moment in our Religion the Article

under Debate is; far enough from being *(a) built upon obscure Hints, and doubtful Reasonings*, as is artfully pretended, when clear and pregnant Proofs have been so often offer'd, some of which are now to be brought under Consideration. And tho' we are perswaded, we have primitive Antiquity on our Side, and that the Doctrine we defend was esteem'd a main Article of Christian Faith, as well before as after the fourth Century; yet we care not to embarrass the Matter with that Dispute, but are content to appeal to the Holy Scriptures, and to have it decided thereby, supposing the Revelation made with sufficient Plainness. To come then to the Point.

HERE, with that great Master of Reason, Arch Bp. *Tillotson*, I fix my Foot: *(b)* That there are three Differences in the Deity, which the Scripture speaks of by the Names of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and every where speaks of them as we used to do of three distinct Persons. And therefore I see no reason why in this Argument, we should nicely abstain from using the Word *Person*, nor can see any just Reason to quarrel at this Term.

AND why may we not apprehend, that in the one Godhead there may be Distinctions, which we do not clearly and fully understand, sufficient to found the Doctrine of a Trinity, and such distinct Predications as we find in the Scriptures? unless we presumptuously imagine, that we so distinctly know every thing that belongs to the Nature of God, as to be able readily to pronounce, what is possible to be in it, and what not.

WHAT is agreed to be a Divine Revelation, should certainly be treated with Respect and Awe, and not made, upon any Terms, to comply with

our preconceived Notions. But we ought with Modesty and Reverence to inquire into the Mind of the most High, and humbly receive the Discovery he has condescended to make of himself and his Will, to regulate all our Sentiments, and form all our Schemes by that Revelation.

THAT there are numerous, and to Appearance, very plain Texts of Scripture, alleged for the Proof of Christ's Deity, cannot but be acknowledg'd, tho' the Sense of those Texts be disputed. It mayn't be amiss to take notice of some of them, which are wont to be produced, amidst the Multitude and Variety which Mr. Mayo and others have collected, and well put together. What shall we say, when we so often find him stiled God, and that without Restriction or Limitation? When the incommunicable Title of Jehovah is so frequently applied to him, as neither the One nor the Other appear to be unto a Creature for Dignity of Nature or Office? (a) He is said to be possessed in the Lord in the beginning of his Way, before his Works of Old, set up from Everlasting, and (b) his goings forth were from Everlasting. (c) He is called the wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father. (d) This is the true God, and eternal Life. (e) God over all, blessed for ever. (f) Being in the Form of God, he thought it no Robbery to be equal with God. (g) He is the first and the last, that was, and is, and is to come, the Almighty. And says of himself, (h) I search the Reins, and Hearts. (i) As I live, saith the Lord, every Knee shall bow to me. (k) He is the Beginning (*καρχηδόν*, the efficient Cause) of the Creation of God. Of him 'tis said, (l) Thy Throne, O God

(a) Prov. viii. 22, 23. (b) Mic. v. 2. (c) Isa. ix. 6. (d) 1 John v. 20. (e) Rom. ix. 5. (f) Ibid. ii. 6. (g) Rev. i. 8. 11. (h) Rev. iii. 25. (i) Rom. xiv. 11. (k) Rev. iii. 14. (l) Heb. i. 8.

is for ever and ever. That he is (*m*) the great God and Saviour, (*n*) God manifest in the Flesh, (*o*) God that redeemed the Church with his own Blood. (*p*) To him Glory is ascribed both now and for ever; (*q*) and that by the whole Creation, in Conjunction with the Father upon the Throne; and no wonder, since he is (*r*) Lord and Heir of all Things; and (*s*) all the Angels are order'd to worship him; (*t*) with what Solemnity did they do it, when *Isaiah* saw his Glory and spake of him? (*u*) By him *all* Things were created and for him. Nor is it of small Consideration that we are (*w*) vowed to him in the great Solemnity of Baptism, as unto the Father; and are required to (*x*) honour him even as we honour the Father.

How can we now forbear concluding from these (and so many other plain Texts of Scripture, that might be mention'd), that *Deity* in a proper Sense belongs to the Son of God, considering, what with Men of Sense must be of great Weight, the manifest Design of this Revelation, to bring lapsed and degenerate Mankind to the true Knowledge of God and their Duty; to abolish the Superstitious Errors and Idolatries that had obtained in the World; to lead unto real Holiness, to an acceptable serving and glorifying God, and to eternal Salvation?

It seems wonderful, if no such Thing was intended, that so little Caution is used to prevent the fatal Mistake, when it had been so very easy to obviate the Dangers, and keep Wise and good Men from running into Idolatry and Perdition, who have made the most serious and impartial Inquiries, in order to the right Managing

(*m*) Tit. ii. 13. (*n*) 1 Tim. iii. 16. (*o*) Acts xx. 28. (*p*) 2 Pet. iii. 18.
 (*q*) Rev. v. 13. (*o*) Heb. i. 2. Col. i. 15. (*s*) Heb. i. 6. (*t*) Isa. vi. 3. 5--
 John xii. 41. (*u*) Col. i. 16. (*w*) Matt. xxviii. 19. (*x*) John v. 23.

their

their Practice and Worship, and the establishing their Hopes of Eternity.

CAN this be thought congruous to the Wisdom and Goodness of God, who is so jealous of his Honour, and such a Lover of Souls ; when in a Manner the whole Christian Church, thro' a Course of so many Ages, has settled in a Perswasion and Practice, so injurious and derogatory to his Glory, and of such inevitable Danger ; when the Reformed Churches, under the Conduct of Men of extraordinary Piety and Learning, and mighty in the Scriptures, which they made so much their Study (as the professed Rule of their Faith, Manners and Worship) settled in the same Belief, unable to espy and escape the fatal Delusion ?

NOR can it be deny'd, that vital Religion has eminently flourish'd, and innumerable Souls, that ardently loved God and hated Idolatry, liv'd to his Praise and dy'd with Triumph, under the Influence of that Belief. Poor unhappy Souls ! if all their Hope and Rejoycing in Christ Jesus as their Saviour and their God, was but Delusion and Mistake, and their Faith but an Affront to that God, whose Glory was dearer to them than their Lives.

THE Scriptures were manifestly intended for the Use and Salvation of all Ranks of Men, and in necessary Things accommodated to ordinary Capacities. Now how plainly does it seem there to be taught, that Christ is God in the true and known Sense ? Or how could the Doctrine of his Deity be deliver'd in plainer Words ? Wherefore to fasten another Meaning upon them, and to wrest them to their Purpose, both *Arians* and *Socinians* are forced to use a great deal of Artifice, to torture them with all the Tricks and Engines of Criticism ; to search whether a Word or Phrase that is used, can be found elsewhere to signify another

another Thing, and so by any means be turned to another Sense. By such a Method of Interpretation, and the help of Wit and Allegory, it will not be difficult for Men of subtle Heads and lively Fancies, to explain away almost any point of Divinity, or give another Turn to any Article of Faith. But surely the Oracles of God, that are of highest Authority, that treat about everlasting Concerns, that will be the Rule of the last Judgment, should be consulted with more Reverence and Humility ; nor wou'd it be less than Rudeness, so to treat the Laws of Men, or even the Writings of any Man of Sense.

BUT the grand Objection against the received Doctrine of Christ's Divinity is, That *it is unintelligible*, and *carries Absurdity in it*. In answer to which I wou'd observe two Things.

1. THAT the Existence or Being of a Thing, may be certain and uncontested, and we may be perswaded of it upon the clearest Grounds, when yet we cannot comprehend it, or give a satisfactory Account of it to our own Minds. Who can tell us how the Parts of Matter are cemented, and hang together so firmly ; and yet we doubt not of the Thing ? Nay, we know not the Manner of the Operation of our own Souls, how Ideas arise and are formed in our Minds, or how our Wills act with Freedom and Liberty ; which yet we feel in our selves, and are intimately assured of. Reason does oblige us to believe, that God is of himself, without any Cause of his Being ; that he has been from Eternity without any Beginning ; and that he has a certain Prescience of future Contingencies : Yet these Things are as inconceivable to us, as the Doctrine under Debate, and we are utterly at a loss when we come to account for them. There is neither Contradiction nor Absurdity in supposing,

that

that the Divine Nature contains what is unintelligible to us, or what we do not fully comprehend ; nor is it impossible that there should be in it, what may be a sufficient Ground for such Distinctions as the Scriptures mention. And what greater Absurdity is it, to suppose, that God may for just and weighty Reasons, secure of his own Greatness, unite humane Nature to himself ; than that there may be an intimate and vital Union between a rational Spirit and a humane Body, which we are assur'd of, and is the Matter of our own Experience, tho' we know nothing of the Manner of it.

2. ARE there no greater Difficulties or Appearances of Absurdity on the other side ? What ! no Absurdity in the Notion of a supreme and inferiour, a greater and a lesser God ? No Difficulty in admitting two Gods, a thing so abhorrent to Reason, and so contrary to express Revelation, whereby we are caution'd and commanded not to have any more Gods but one ? No Difficulty in believing a Creature to be the Creator, or an immediate Instrument in Creating the World ? Yet this so much shockt the Understandings of some of the Ancients, tainted with these Opinions, as forced 'em upon a precarious Fancy, without the least Foundation in Scripture, that God first created the Word, and then created Matter, which he formed into the various Orders of Being ; but out of what *Matter* he formed the Angels and Souls of Men I find not. Is there no Absurdity in setting up another Object of Worship both for Angels and Men, to whose Service and Glory we must be all devoted, besides the Supreme God ? and that upon such Terms as seem to countenance and excuse the Pretences both of Papists and Pagans in their Idolatries ? Is there no Difficulty in supposing, contrary to the constant

stant Tenour, and plainest Declaration of the Scriptures, that the great Mediator, is neither true God, nor true Man? Or can we imagine that there can be a true Man without a Rational Soul? or that no more is intended hereby, but a Humane Body animated by a mere Sensitive Soul, which how it is differenced from a Brute in Humane Shape, will not be easy to determine?

BUT I pass from these Considerations to examine what our Author offers in Opposition to the Common Faith; and what he urges in Defence of his own. And here I shall be content to follow in the Method he hath seen fit to take. Tho' I can't but observe, that there is a great Difference between the conjunct Force and Evidence of many Texts of Scripture together, which mutually enlighten and support one another, in the Testimony they give to an important Truth, and the Evidence of some simple Passages arbitrarily selected, and separately considered, if not sifted and artfully manag'd to cast a favourable Aspect upon a darling Opinion.

1. THAT (a) which he first mentions as a *grand Argument for the Doctrine we maintain* is 1 John v. 7. Tho' for what Reason this is set in the Front, and made so *grand an Argument*, can't escape Remark by such as know, that no extraordinary Stress is laid upon it, tho' it will not be easily parted with. 'Tis represented indeed as if (b) *it was past all Controversy* (no unusual Trick of Confidence and Boasting with these Gentlemen) that it belongs not to the Sacred Text; yet the Author can't but know, how much has been alleged, by Men of great Judgment, Sincerity and Learning in Defence of it. Not only

Gerhard, and the Famous Dr. *Hammond*, among many others ; but Dr. *Mills*, and Monsieur *Martin* of late, after the most careful Researches, have given the World sufficient Satisfaction upon this Subject. That *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* quoted this Passage, long before the *Arian* Controversy arose, is well known, and a manifest Proof of its being antiently read, and that it was not inserted in Opposition to the *Arians*, as some of that Way have fondly suggested. Whether the Preface to the seven Canonical Epistles were *Jerom's* or no (which yet Mr. *Martin* maintains) which testifies that the *Greek* Manuscripts then had it, and charges the *Latin* Interpreters with unfaithfulness in leaving it out ; it is certain that it is very Ancient, and that as *Jerom's* Version has it, he protests that he had faithfully followed the *Greek* (N. T. *græcæ fidei reddidi.*) Nor is it of small Consideration and Weight that such a numerous Council of Bishops, assembled at *Carthage*, Anno 484. in their Confession of Faith, prepared to be presented to *Huneric* that cruel *Arian* Persecutor, insisted on this Passage of St. *John*, when summon'd to defend by the Scriptures the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Fathet, in a public Dispute with the *Arian* Bishops, who might then have so easily confuted the Quotation, if it had been false or forged. However it came to be omitted in many Copies of old, (as there are many other remarkable Omissions even in the *Alexandrian* Manuscript as well as this) whether by the Negligence of Transcribers, or the Fraud of Hereticks, who, (a) as *Socrates* observes, particularly depraved this Epistle of St. *John*, in order to separate Christ's Humanity from his Divi-

(a) *Hist. Eccl.* lib. 7. ch. 32.

nity, one thing is worthy of Notice, that the Antient Church never cast upon it any Suspicion of Forgery, but wherever it appear'd, it has been looked upon as the genuine Writing of St. John. The Context also seems to make ver. 7. necessary as conjoin'd to ver. 8. by *And in the beginning of it*; and as *Three that bear witness on Earth stand in opposition to Three that bear witness in Heaven, called the Testimony of God*, ver. 9.

AND this leads to consider the Sense of the Words upon Supposition that they are the genuine Writing of St. John as our Authour speaks. It is not disputed whether [these Three are One] does signify their Consent and Agreement in Design, and the Testimony they give, or whether [^{εις την} θεον] is not to be interpreted according to the Subject, Matter, and Circumstances of the Place where the Phrase occurs, as *1 Cor. iii. 8. he that planteth and he that watereth are one*, i. e. in Consent and Design: But in this Place something more seems plainly to be imply'd, and that the *Three that bear Witness in Heaven*, do not only agree in their Testimony, but are One in a more appropriate and particular Sense, intimating and denoting the Ground and peculiar Reason or Cause of their so agreeing, and that they cannot but concur in their Testimony. And therefore it was reasonable, when he came to the other Three, of whom it cou'd not be affirm'd that they were one in Nature, to affirm as much as the Matter would bear, that they are [^{εις την} θεον] Testifiers to the same Purpose, tho' not [^{εις}] one in Nature. Now if no more were intended by their being One, v. 7. than their agreeing in One, v. 8. How easy had it been to have avoided the Ambiguity that was so like to lead into a dangerous Mistake, when there was no Necessity or just Occasion, to change the Phrase? And that we fix upon the

the true Meaning, appears more probable from what follows, ver. 9. where the Testimony given by the Three in Heaven, emphatically said to be *one*, is called the Witness of God, which is greater and deserves the highest Regard.

FURTHER to clear the Apostle's Meaning, we may consider with the Author, the Words of Christ, *John x. 30. I and my Father are One*. And if they manifestly signify quite another kind of Oneness, than mere agreeing in Design, there is good Reason to interpret this, as con-noting such a like Oneness. Whereas he refers us to *John xvii. 11. Holy Father keep thro' thy own Name, those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one,* [as we are] as we are; and adds, *Are we to think, that our Saviour desir'd his Disciples should be kept to be one Being?* I answer, no more than when Christ said, *Matt. v. 48. Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect*, he required that his Disciples should equal God in his infinite Perfections. [as] can denote here, as in many other Places, but a Similitude or Resemblance, not the same perfect Union. So ver. 21. *That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee.* There is not such an Union among Believers, as to be mutually in each other, and yet they are not only one in Affection and Design; but are all animated and acted by the same Spirit, or by one Spirit are all Baptized into one Body, so as all to be under the vital Influence, Operation and Conduct of that one Spirit, and to be brought to a more perfect Unity in Glory, the Thing Christ prays for; and herein more fully to resemble and answer the Union between the Father and Christ; this being possibly the nearest Resemblance and Similitude of it among Creatures. This hinders not therefore, but seems rather to imply, that Christ's Oneness with the Father, is

of an higher Kind, and more exalted Nature than the Oneness among Christians ; and whereas it necessarily inters an absolute and most perfect Agreement in Will and Affection, Christians should labour, as far as they can, under the Guidance of the one Spirit of Christ, that unites them in one mystical Body, to imitate that glorious Pattern. Now that Christ is one with the Father in a peculiar and more distinguish'd Sense appears further by comparing, *John x. 38.* *John xiv. 11.* *Believe the Works, that ye may know and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him.* Thus the Learned Dr. Whitby observes upon the Words, [that it appears that Christ speaks not of an Unity of Will and Concord only, 1) From the Reason assigned of the Security of the Sheep, the want of Power in any one, to snatch them out of the Hand of Christ, being one in Power with the Father. For the Foundation of this Argument is not, that the Father's Will, but that his Power was above all. 2) From the Inference of the Jews, that by these Words he made himself God, and so was guilty of Blasphemy. Now this invidious Charge Christ does not evade by saying, he only conspir'd with the Will of God, as all true Prophets did, but by appealing to the Works, which, says he, I do by the Power of the Father residing in Me, which plainly carries this to an Unity of Power, rot of Will only. And then the Inference of St. Chrysostom is undeniable, [εἰ δὴ θύρας ἀνθή, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅπερ ἔχει] and if the Power be the same, the Essence must be so.]

2. (a) The second Argument to prove the Divinity of Christ he sees fit to mention, is, *That he is expressly called God in several Places of the Scripture.* Which he thinks he can easily elude by two

Observations. 1) (a) That the Term *God* is sometimes apply'd either to *Idols*, under Pretence of something belonging to them, which really does not, or to *Creatures* upon the Account of a *Character*, which they rightfully pretend to, and bear without blame. 2) That the *Scriptures* evidently lead us, to distinguish Christ's *Godhead* from that of his *Father*. I shall readily attend him in each of his Remarks. And he is not ignorant that we agree with him in the former, that as *Idols* were esteem'd *Gods* by their mistaken *Worshippers*, and the *Devil* himself was taken for a *God* by *Usurpation* and horrible *Errors*, both *Angels* and *Magistrates* by special *Dignity*, and *Authority* intrusted with them, have in an *improper* and *figurative Sense* been stiled *Gods*. Yet such as read the *Scriptures* with Care, and unprejudiced Minds, must needs observe that the *Name* and *Characters* of *Divinity* are every where ascribed and challenged, in quite another *Manner*, and utterly in another *Sense* to the blessed *Jesus*, than to *Angels* or *Governours*, or any mere *Creatures*.

We do not only urge that the *Name* and *Title* of *God* is frequently given to him, which in but a few Instances is given to *Creatures*, but that 'tis given without any *Limitation*, or any *Circumstances* that should determine to a *figurative Sense*. When 'tis said. *Let all the Gods worship him. I have made thee a God to Pharaoh I have said ye are Gods, but ye shall die like Men.* No Body is at a Loss as to the *Meaning* of these *Expression*, or in *Danger* of being led into the *Opinion*, that the most High *God* is intended, or of worshiping the *Creature* instead of the *Creator*. But when we find that Christ *Jesus* doth so indifferently assume, and hath so often given him the *Title* of *Lord Je-*

bovah, and yet 'tis said, Psal. lxxxiii. 18. That Men, may know that thou whose Name alone is Jenovah, art the most High. When he is called *the true God, the great God ; the G d over all blessed f.r ever ;* and that *the Name and Characters, the Attributes and Worship of the supreme God are without Scruple or Restriction often apply'd to him ;* what inevitable Danger of Mistake and Idolatry, if all this should signify no more than that as a Creature, or being of great derived Excellency and delegated Power, he may be in some improper Sense called a God? (a) Dr. Whitby well observes, nothing is absolutely in the Scripture, and in the singular Number, called God for any other Reason, than that the Divine Nature is imparted to it.

'T is therefore his second Remark which we are to consider, and to be well assured that the Scriptures distinguish Christ's Godhead from that of his Father, so as to satisfy that there is an uncontrollable and utter Distance or Difference between the one and the other. But I must confess my self at a Loss where to find it. Our Author produces two Texts for it. The first *Jo. i. 1, 2.* where it is said, *the Word was in the Beginning with G.d.* Now adds he, (b) *Was God the Word the same with him, with whom he was?* And why may he not be the same in one respect and yet differ in another, and *the Word was with God, and the Word was God,* ver. 1. ? Why, according to the common Doctrine, may we not suppose that he was the same in Nature and essential Perfections, tho' distinct in Person ; or, that his Godhead was the same with that of his Father, tho' he was in some Sense different from him, who in order of Subsistence, and in the Way of Distinction, bears the Name of God and the Father ?

THE other Text to prove that Christ's Godhead differs from that of his Father is, *Heb. i. 8.* quoted

(a) *Ecl. vol. 1. Pag. 447.*(b) *Letter p. 24.*

from *Psal. 45, 7. Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* ver. 9. *Thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the Oyl of Gladness above thy Fellows.* Now says he, (a) *Can he be the supreme God, who has one to be a God to him, and to bestow a Reward upon him?* As if Christ was not be consider'd as a complex Subject, of whom some Things are evidently spoken with reference to his divine Person, others with respect to his human Nature, and others that directly concern his Office as Mediator. And no wonder, if these are not unusually intermixt, if even in the same Place, as there is occasion, some Things are ascrib'd to him under one Consideration and Character, and some under another. Thus here it may be intimated that he has a Throne and Dominion, as God by Nature, which is for ever and ever, different from his mediatorial Kingdom, and that delegated Power which he is shortly to resign. And can it seem strange to any if our Lord Jesuſ, in another Capacity, and under a different Character be the Subject of other or different Predications; if while as God, his eternal Dominion be acknowledged, as Mediator in our Nature, he be capable of Reward, and be anointed with Joy above his Fellows?

3. As to the third Argument from *Rom. ix. 5. Who is over all God blessed for ever,* his Ingenuity is to be acknowledged, in that he frankly allows this to be spoken of Christ, as *Socinus* also does, aware how contrary to the apparent Sense, and the Rules of true Criticism; 'tis otherwise interpreted by Mr. *Whiston*, and others, who perceiving the proper Characters of Deity express, would fain have it to be spoken of the Father by Way of Doxology. But our Author's slightly passing it over with the Observation, (b) *that he must be excepted who did put all*

Things under him, will not be so easily admitted as a sufficient Reply to so pregnant a Text by others, whatever shift he may make to satisfy his own Reason and Conscience with it. Two' Mr. *Wnist* n also attempts to evade the Force of it (if suppos'd to be spoken of Christ) after the same Manner; (a) yet he suggests, that the Epithet *blessed* is always appropriated in Scripture to the supreme God, and almost always in Antiquity also, according to the Language of the *Jewish* Nation; and that the Phrase, *God over all*, is both in Scripture, and Antiquity, singly and directly apply'd to him. And whereas *God blessed*, or *blessed for evermore*, is observed scarce to occur above four times in the New Testament, and still manifestly denotes the most high God, and apply'd to him, *Rom.* i. 25. as distinguished from all Creatures whatsoever; how can we but acknowledge the Force of the Argument, and conclude from these exalted and distinguishing Titles so freely given to Jesus Christ, that he is God in the proper Sense, and one with the Father, these being not personal Properties, but Characters belonging to the Nature of God? Thus (b) Dr. *Whitby* says, from the Beginning, these Words have been used by the Fathers as an Argument of Christ's Divinity; and *Theophylact* καὶ ἐνδέον δὲ καταιχύνεται Ἀριοῦ ἀπε τῆς Παύλου τὸν Χειρὸν δὴ πάντων Θεὸν αναγνοῦθεν, from hence is Arius confuted and put to shame, St. Paul proclaiming Christ to be *God over all*.

4. We cannot but think it a good Argument, and a clear Proof of the Deity of Christ, that the Creation of the World is so often, and in the strongest Terms attributed to him. To avoid this our Author wou'd have the (c). *Father consider'd as the primary Creator, and that the Son did create by a*

(a) *Prima Fas* p. 6 7. (b) *Fol.* vol. 2. p. 53. (c) *Letter* p. 26.

Power derived from his Father. But he tells us not whether that derived Power be finite or infinite; whether an infinite Power can be derived and imparted, except the Divine Nature, to which it seem inseparably to belong, be communicated; or whether a finite and secondary Power can signify any thing in a proper Creation, which the Scripture represents as immediately performed by God himself, who commanded, and it was done. Besides there appears so much Absurdity in the Notion of an Instrument in Creation, as led some of old (we observed before) to the Grounds and extravagant Conceit, that God provided a Chaos of Matter for the Word to work upon, and frame the Beautiful and magnificent Fabrick of this World out of; but why should we affect to be wise above what is written? The Scripture plainly tells us, both, (a) *that God made all Things, and that* (b) *the Word was God, that all Things were made by him, and that without him was not any thing made that was made.* So that Arch Bp. Tillotson after Austin, concludes, if the Word was made, he made himself. (c) *By him all Things were created that are in Heaven and that are in Earth, visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones or Dominions, or Principalities or Powers, all Things were created by him and for him.* If it be said that [δι αὐτὸν] implies his acting only by a delegated Power, 'tis known and can't be deny'd, that the same Expression is used with respect to the Supreme God, (d) *Of whom and to whom are all Things.* Does the Lord of Hosts challenge this as his peculiar Prerogative, (e) *I am the first, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God;* Of Christ also 'tis affirmed, that (f) *he is the Beginning and the End, the first and the last (the first Cause and the last End)* Is God said to (g) *have made all Things for himself?*

(a) Rev. iv. 11. (b) John i. 1. 2. (c) Col. i. 6. (d) Rom. xi. 36.
 (e) Isa. xliv. 6. (f) Rev. xxii. 13. (g) Prov. xvi. 4.

'tis also said of Christ Jesus, that as *all Things were made by him, so all Things were made for him.* And can we well imagine that the whole Creation should be for a Creature, the Universe design'd for its Glory? Very remarkable 'tis, that the inspir'd Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, does Ch. i. 10. without Difficulty or Hesitation, without any Explication to limit or qualify the Sense, apply directly to him, what, Psal. cii. is confessedly addrest to the Supreme God. *And thou Lord in the Beginning hast laid the Foundation of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands; They shall perish, but thou remainest yet.* He that was before the Mountains were brought forth, and before the Earth and the World were formed, must be allowed in the Prophet's Account, Psal. xc. 2. *From Everlasting to Everlasting to be God.* How do we come to be assur'd of the Existence of a God, who is the supreme Object of our Worship, but by the sensible Proof he has given of his Being and Perfections in the Works of Creation? (a) *For the invisible Things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the Things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead.* He was known to Israel of Old, and is distinguish'd as the proper Object of our Adoration by this Character, the Maker of Heaven and Earth. Isa. xliv. 24. *I am the Lord that maketh all Things, that stretcheth forth the Heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the Earth by my self,* Thus Hezekiah confesses, (b) *Thou art the God, even thou alone, thou hast made Heaven and Earth.* Thus Nehemiah ix. v. *Thou, even Thou, art Lord alone, thou hast made the Heaven of Heavens with all their Host, the Earth and all Things that are therein, and the Host of Heaven worshippeth thee,*

5. THE next thing he considers as alleged in Proof of Christ's Divinity, is his Omniscience; an

(a) Rom. i. 20. (b) a. Kings. xix. 12.

Argument not easily baffled by the subtle Attempts made in Order to it. It can't scarce escape the Remark of a sober and considerate Christian, that Solomon the Wisest of Men, and under the Conduct of Inspiration, affirms in a most solemn Address to God, *1 Kings viii. 39.* *Thou, even thou, only knowest the Heart of all the Children of Men;* and this the most high appropriates as his Prerogative. *Jer. xvii. 10.* *I the Lord search the Heart, I try the Reins, even to give every Man according to his Ways.* Now behold! Christ Jesus stands forth, and assumes, without Scruple, and in the clearest Expressions, what the great God challenges so peculiarly to himself, *Rev. ii. 23.* *I am He that searcheth the Reins and Hearts, and I will give to every one of you according to your Works.* No wonder therefore that this is so often remark'd and acknowledg'd by the Disciples of Christ, *Joh. ii. 24,* *25.* *Joh. xxi. 17.* And that in a very different Manner from what the Woman of Jekoah's Compliment to David's Prudence and Sagacity does impart, *2 Sam. xiv. 20.* which I know not with what Decency our Author could bring into Comparison therewith. Nor may we presently presume to rob him of this Glory upon the slight and precarious Suggestion, that such a Knowledge might possibly be imparted to him, as also to some other Prophets. But did ever any Prophet challenge the Prerogative to himself, of knowing Hearts in the Expressions that are employ'd, on purpose to set forth the Omnipotence of God?

THERE are however two Texts of Scripture offer'd in exception to this plain Argument. *John viii. 28.* *As my Father has taught me, I speak these Things.* And *Matt. xiii. 32.* *But of that Day and that Hour knoweth no one, no not the Angels that are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* Now who perceives not, that tho' Christ be One with the Father, and the Fulness of the Godhead dwell in him, yet he is also Man and Mediator, and that considering him

as a Prophet, sent and commission'd to reveal the Will of God, he was to reveal only that which his Father taught him and which he had in Commission

*Tινος οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ
σέας, αὐτοῦ τὸν
ἀρπάγε. Ήτο
καὶ γνῶν, αὐτὸς,
ταῦτα
μαν. Γρεγ. Ναζ.*

to deliver and make known, and that as he was the Son of Man, under which Character he speaks here of himself, v. 26. he knew no more than was communicated and imparted to him.

As to his having a rational Soul, which our Author would here bring in doubt, it has been consider'd before. And methinks 'tis but little Evidence of the Goodness of the Cause these Gentlemen are engaged in, when for the Support for it, they are driven to deny even the true Humanity of Jesus Christ, and to call in Question his having a reasonable Soul. (a) (*Verily he took not on him the Nature of Angels, but he took on him the Seed of Abraham ; wherefore in all Things it behoved him to be made like unto his Brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High-Priest* (b). *So the one Mediator between God and Men is the Man Christ Jesus.* (c) *Now, says he, is my Soul troubled, when he was about to suffer ; and as our blessed Lord very often assumes, and seems to delight in the Name of the Son of Man, which he cou'd not be, without a humane Soul : So (d) *God has appointed a Day in which he will judge the World in righteousness by that Man whom he hath Ordained.*) But such and worse Absurdities must be swallowed, in denying Things plainly revealed, under pretence of their being (in some respect) Unintelligible. Our Author urges that according to our interpretation, (e) *Christ's answer to his Disciples was but a mere Evasion, and without doubt being inquisitive to know that time, they would be ready to say, Well, Lord, if thou dost not know it as thou art Man, yet tell us as God.* A fancy indeed ! Unworthy of his Judgment and Sagacity !*

(a) *Heb. ii. 16, 17.* (b) *1 Tim. ii. 5.* (c) *John xii. 17.* (d) *Acts xviii. 22.* (e) *Lesser p. 58.*

As if when they found that Christ had it not in his Power and Commission, as Son of Man to reveal it, they should think themselves concern'd, further to importune him about it. Thus we see how far this is off being (*a*) a *Demonstration of the Mistake of our Opinion.*

6. I come now to consider what is of very great Weight and Importance in it self, and what every Christian is concerned in, and that is the Worship which is due, and to be paid to our Lord Jesus, God over all blessed for ever. When the Controversy is about the proper Object or Worship, in which every Christian has an Interest at Stake, we can't be blam'd if we are upon our guard, and be not presently by the slight of Men drawn to worship and serve a Creature besides the Creator; and if we have not the Presumption upon slight Pretences to condemn, as Idolatrous, what is, and has been the common Practice of the Christian Church. That a Civil Respect and Worship is to be given in different Degrees to Persons in Power, no Body denies ; but from hence to argue or infer, that no proper divine Worship is due to the Lord that bought us, God, manifested in the Flesh ; or to suppose that this may serve to answer, and invalidate the Pleas from Scripture and Reason, for the Sentiments and Practice of the Christian World, is what will not be easily admitted. Nor can it be allowed that Christ has a Right to our Worship upon no other *Ground or (b) Reason*, but the mere *Gift and Command of the Father*, which I take to be the Author's Meaning, and direct Answer to the Argument. We may here perceive what a Shift our Author is driven to in this Matter, when he betakes himself to Bellarmine's main Argument for the Worship of Angels, Saints, and Relicks, *Pf. xcix. 5.* And will needs have it that the Footstool is commanded

(*a*) *Letter p. 27.* (*b*) *Ibid. 29.*

to be worshipped, when not only *Piscator* and *Grotius*, but *Muis* also (a Popish Commentator) allows the rendring it to the same Sense with our Translation, worship at his Foot-stool [*Deum apud Scabellum*], as agreeable to the *Hebrew*, and that this is the proper rendring of the *Hebrew Phrase*, and the Sense of the [בְּ] will appear to any that consider that the same Expression is used in ver. 9. of this very Psalm [בְּרֵיחַ הַר־] and render'd by us, as also by the Septuagint, worship at his holy Hill, plainly express't, *Psa. cxxxviii. 2. I will worship towards thy Holy Temple.* So *1 Kings viii. 44. Pray unto the Lord towards the City, and towards the House that I have built,* the true Reason of *Daniel's opening his Windows towards Jerusalem, when he prayed, Dan. vi. 10.*

To bring this Matter into a fuller Light, it may be observ'd, that our Author's Notion seems to state the Business of religious Worship upon the Foot of a mere positive Command, so that the *Pagans* and *Papists* are Idolaters, only for want of God's Precept for their Worship; whereas the Scripture charges with Idolatry upon the account of *doing Service to them who by Nature were no Gods; and for worshipping and serving the Creature with, or beside the Creator,* [ταξιδιώσας τὸν θεόν] *Rom. i. 25. Gal. iv. 8.* Nor can it be imagin'd that God should interpose to warrant any Worship by Precept, which the Light of Natures does condemn: Positive Commands are not wont to interfere with and cross moral Duties. The formal Object of religious Worship is still the same, and Reason, or natural Light, may be sufficient to direct to it, or at least determine what is not a fit and proper Object; but the Case is different with respect to the Means and Manner of Worship, where is Room and Occasion for the Direction of a particular Institution or Command. And thus as God has an unquestionable Right, it may be expedient for him to determine and appoint, how, and in what Man-

ner, we may acceptably serve him; while yet we can't think ourselves at Liberty to worship or serve another with, or besides him, without violating the Rights of our great Creator, and our Natural Obligations. Thus he does often appeal to (a) Reason; as sufficient to condemn the Idolatries in Practice; and (b) declare, that he will not give his Glory to another; and (c) that the Gods that have not made the Heavens and the Earth shall perish.

As for a subordinate and inferior Sort of religious Worship, to be paid to an inferior Sort of Deities, or subordinate Powers, I see no Foundation for it in Scripture; and 'tis manifest that under this Pretence Idolatry has been introduc'd and commonly practiced; that this hath been made to countenance the Superstition of *Papists* and *Heathens*, and proved the Occasion or Matter of the fatal Mistake in the World on this Subject. 'Twas such a kind of Worship with the Devil had the Impudence to ask of Christ, and which had been given him among the Nations, acknowledging that his Power and Dominion was but derived and subordinate, *Luke iv. 6. It is delivered unto me.* But Christ answers (not what some might have imagin'd; thou art an Apostate and unclean Spirit, and so unfit to be Worshipped; or 'tis not due to thee, because my Father has not enjoined it, but ver. 8.) *Get thee behind me, Satan, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve,* declaring, as in many other cases, not what is of positive and arbitrary Institution, but moral Duty and natural Right.

RELIGIOUS Worship may be taken to import a Subjection of Soul to the Being we address it, and is due only to God, who alone has a Right and immediate Access to it. And there are two special Branches of this Worship, or this is wont particularly to be given in solemn Acts of Adoration and

(a) *Isa. xlvi. 8. 9.* (b) *Ibid. xlii. 8.* (c) *Jer. x. 11.*

direct Invocation ; nor are these to be addrest to any other but him, whom we professedly devote our selves, and yield our Hearts to, and do believingly look for our Help and Salvation from. The Gospel, we confess, directs to the worshipping and addressing the Father thro' *Jesus Christ*, by the Holy Spirit, and this common Method of Christian Worship is congruous and suited to the known Dispensation of Grace ; but besides this, it does also lead to a direct worshipping of Jesus Christ, as one with the Father, to a devoting our selves, and a submitting our Wills and Consciences to him, as our rightful Owner and sovereign Lord, as being our Creator and Redeemer, and our Saviour. In this Quality, not as an Agent or Embassador but as a Sovereign, he demands Obedience, and proclaims Peace and Pardon to rebellious Subjects, and while we professedly take him for our Saviour, we acknowledge him to be our Lord and our God. That we owe such a direct Worship and Homage to the blessed Jesus, and have clear and abundant Warrant for it, will appear, if we consider.

(1). In general we are directed to honour the Son even as we honour the Father, and he that honoureth not thus the Son, honoureth not the Father which sent him, *Jo. v. 23.* And shall we come off with the Pretence, that we honour him truly, tho' not with the same or like kind of Honour with the Father ? must we not truly, honour our Rulers, and which of them, nay which of the glorious Angels, has God at any time commanded, that we should honour even as we honour himself ?

(2). As for prostrate Adoration, and solemn Ascription of Glory, the whole Church both in Heaven and Earth is represented as paying this Homage to him jointly with the Father. *I heard, says St. John, Rev. v. 11,12,13. The Voice of many Angels round about the Throne, &c. saying with a loud Voice ; Worthy*

Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive Power, and Riches, and Wisdom, and Honour, and Glory, and Blessing. And every Creature which is in Heaven and on Earth, &c. heard I, saying, Blessing, Honour, Glory, and Power, be unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

(3). CHRIST Jesus is also to be worshipped by direct and solemn Invocation. 'Tis mentioned as the common Character and Practice of Christians, *1 Cor. i. 2. to call upon his Name.* And what is unquestionably spoken of God, *Joel. ii. 32.* is without Hesitation apply'd to Christ, *Rom. x. 13. Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord, shall be saved.* Nor may we address our Prayers directly to any other but him, who is the Object of our Faith and Trust, *Rom. x. 14.* If we are by him to believe in God, he does also, *Jo. xiv. 1.* require that we believe in him jointly with the Father, and demands a Trust and Confidence in himself, which are not due to a less Person, than to him, who is one with his Father.

(4). He is also the proper or supreme Object of Religion, as that signifies a Devotedness to the Service and Glory of him whom we Worship. And as in the solemn Rite of Baptism, we profess to do this : so, *Rom. xiv. 7, 8, 9. None of us liveth unto himself, and no Man dyeth to himself; for whether we live, we live unto the Lord, or whether we dye, we dye unto the Lord;* whether we live therefore or dye we are the Lord's. For this End Christ both died and rose, and lived again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.

THERE is doubtless a Difference to be made, between the formal Reason of Divine Worship, which is infinite Perfection ; and the special Motives and Considerations, that may induce and quicken to a particular giving of the Worship. Unto God absolutely consider'd is Adoration paid, upon the Mani-

festation of his glory in Creation, *Rev. iv. 11. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive Glory and Honour and Power, for thou hast created all Things.* A grand Motive to the paying Adoration to Jesus Christ is Redemption, *Rev. v. 12. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive Honour, Glory and Blessing.* Upon this Motive we are to devote ourselves to him, so as *not to live to our selves, but to him who died for us and rose again.* *2 Cor. v. 15.* But then he wou'd not be capable of this high Respect, he wou'd not have right to demand it, were he not one with the Father, and truly our God. Indeed when we consider, that it was He that made, and has redeemed us, that there is no other Name whereby we must be saved, that he is to be our Judge for Eternity; what Homage or Service can we think too much for him? No wonder that *every Knee must bow to him, and every Tongue confess that he is Lord.* True, but it will be said, unto the glory of God the Father, who has exalted him, and given him a Name above every Name; I grant it, but with this Consideration, that tho' he had an original Right to the Government of the World, and to be the Judge of it, as belonging to the Divine Nature; yet not to have the immediate and sole Exercise of this Power committed unto him, and put into his Hands, and that in our Nature, but by Consent and Agreement, or by a voluntary Dispensation, and by his Father's Gift and Appointment.

7. As for Baptism, the Nature and Design of it have been taken Notice of in the preceeding Article, and has been always I think reckon'd an important part of Christian Worship, wherein particular Homage is paid to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as in the Business of our Salvation acting under distinct Considerations, and condescending to assume distinct Offices. The distinct Form therefore of Administration has been always observ'd with great Care in the Church, as signifying the peculiar Faith of Christians,

ans, and a solemn Covenant Transaction between God and believing Penitents, wherein Father, Son and Spirit are consider'd, not simply as three Persons in the Godhead, but as related to Man for the Ends of the Covenant, undertaking each to perform his proper Part. And the Persons baptiz'd recognizing their joint Interest in him, do professedly dedicate and devote themselves to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, expecting to be saved by the Father's Grace, thro' the Mediation of Jesus Christ, under the Conduct of the Holy Spirit; and as Circumcision of old, Baptism under the Gospel, can be no less than a Seal of the Righteousness of Faith. Must we not therefore conclude, that Baptism, when so great a Weight is laid upon it, *Mir. xvi. 16.* is something more, than a mere *Form (a) of entring into the Christian Religion; whereof the Father is the Author, the Son the Publisher, and the Spirit the Confirmor?* Alas! that these Gentlemen, finding it necessary for the Interest and Support of their Opinion, should make so little Scruple of lowering and speaking so slightly of the solemn Institutions and more important Concerns of Religion, that happen (or seem) to stand in the Way! Had this only been intended, how easy had it been for the Scripture, somewhere or other to have made this plain Expression of it, and obviated the common and dangerous Mistake of the Christian World, in so solemn an Ordinance, of constant Use and Practice; believing that the Three into whose Name we are Baptiz'd, be that One God, to whose Faith and Service we are Vow'd and Consecrated? Nor in this View does there seem to be any great Occasion for the use of such a Form. *(b) That the Israelites were baptized unto Moses in the Cloud, the Apostle observes 1 Cor. x. 2.* but how different a Thing is it to be so Baptized, as to pass under the Conduct of *Moses* thorough the

(a) Letter p. 30, 31. (b) Ibid p. 32.

Sea and the Wilderness, and to be Baptized into the Name of *Moses*, indifferently ; and in conjunction with the Name of God, and that in a sacred Institution, and special Act of Devotion, to be practised in all Generations. Our Author is pleased further to compare this with what is said, *1 Tim.* v. 21. (a) *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels*; but how odd must this seem to any considerate Person who perceives the Difference between a Charge given before such Witnesses as might put some Awe upon the Mind, and awaken Diligence, and a most solemn Act of Religion reff'red indifferently to Three, as the joint and proper Object of it, signify'd a professed Devotedness to each of them. Nor may the solemn Benediction (b) *2 Cor. xiii. 13.* be so slightly passed over, or well thought to import less than a Prayer to Jesus Christ together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, for their imparting special Grace severally in the distinct Relation they bear to Christians, which can't be ask'd or expected from any mere Creature.

8. T H E last Argument our Author mentions, and that as *most plausible according to our Translation is taken from Phil. ii. 5, 6, 7.* *Let this Mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the Form of God, thought it no Robbery to be equal with God : but made himself of no Reputation, &c.* I think it needless here to do any more, than consider what he offers to invalidate the Argument from this Text, in which he seems willing particularly to triumph, but as far as appears upon slender Evidence. He first remarks after Dr. *Hammond*, that the [but] in the beginning of the 7th verse, seems not so well to agree with the Apostle's Meaning, as exprest in our Translation, and this the Dr. thinks is the only Argument that makes it probable that the Phrase [*thought it no R:bberry*] should be otherwise construed. However he judges

(a) *Letter.* p. 33; (b) *Ibid.*

that either the [αλλὰ] may be render'd [yet] (and thus it signifies in *1 Cor.* viii. 6. and is so render'd by the Author himself, *p.* 11.) or if it be render'd [but] the Sense is, He was God, and without any Injury equal to his Father, *but* for all this, or notwithstanding this, he vilify'd himself, &c. Which the Dr. takes to be the clear Rendring of the Place. But it is the Meaning of the Expression [*εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ήγίεσται*] that is especially contested. And here by the Way, (a) the Author does either misrepresent or mistake Dr. Whithby, in saying, that 'tis only to be met with in Plutarch and Heliodorus, in both which Writers it signifies to covet earnestly; Whereas the Dr's Words are, This Greek Phrase is only to be met with in Plutarch, says Grotius, tho' I cant find it there, and in Heliodorus, in which Writer, &c. meaning plainly the latter only. The Truth is that there is no great Reason to rely upon the Authority of this *Heliodorus* in the Matter. He flourish'd not till towards the End of the fourth Century, and in his Youth wrote a loose and lewd Romance; out of which this is taken: But then it is observable, that even the Phrase he makes use of is [*ἀρπαγὴν ποιεῖν* and *ἐποίειν*] and once [*ἐκ ἀρπαγῆς ήγένεται*] which every one that understands the Greek sees to be very different from the Apostle's Expression Nor do [*ἀρπαγής* and *ἀρπαγῆ*] signify the same Thing, the former denoting [*Actum rapiendi*] the *Act of Robbery*, the latter [*prædam raptam*] the *Prey or Purchase of Robbery*. Now if the Apostle's Phrase had been [*ἐκ ἀρπαγῆς ήγίεσται*] we might possibly have follow'd *Heliodorus*, and render'd it *he took it not for a Prey, he did not covet and snatch at it as a very desirable Thing*; but when 'tis [*ἐκ αρπαγῆς ήγίεσται*] the direct and proper Meaning seems to be, *he did not esteem it an Act of Robbery, or account it an Injury, [τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ]* to be equal to *God, or to be like the most High*. Considering also that

the Apostle useth the Verb [*ὑκόπαιος*] several times in this same Epistle, in the same Sense we have given of it. And as Dr. *Hammond* and others justify our Translation herein, and account it most Just and Natural ; so Dr. *Edwards* thinks it in a manner past Dispute. And tho' some are content to admit the other Sense, as unwilling possibly to give themselves, or others, too much trouble in a Matter of nicer Observation, or to avoid wrangling, yet secure of the Main and more important Thing in Controversy, they give such a just Interpretation, as no way interferences with, or injures our Lord's Claim to an Equality with his Father. Thus Abp. *Tillotson*,
 (a) *That he was not only with God, before he assumed Humane Nature, but also was really God*; St. Paul tells us : *Let this Mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the Form of God, did not arrogate to himself to be equal with God*, (taking this to be the Meaning of the Phrase as used by *Plutarch*) : i. e. He did not appear in the Glory of his Divinity, which was hid under a Veil of human Flesh and Infirmity. So that if his being made in the fashion of a man does signify that he was really Man by his Incarnation ; then surely his being in the Form of God, when he took upon him the Likeness of Man, and the Form of a Servant, must in all reason signify, that he was really God before he became Man, for which Reason the Apostle did not doubt to say, that God was manifested in the Flesh.

HAVING thus with all the Fairness I could, consider'd what has been urg'd in answer to those Eight Arguments, which our Author saw fit to take Notice of, for the Deity of Christ, I proceed now to observe what he offers in opposition to it; the rather for that he appears very confident in his own Notion, but insinuates that we are far enough from having such clear and solid Proofs for our O-

pinion, which yet the Reader may make some Judgment of, by what has been already laid before him, and which he will do well impartially to consider.

(a) His first and principal Text is, 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6. *We know that an Idol is nothing in the World, and that there is no other God but one. For tho' there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or in Earth, as there be Gods many, and Lords many ; yet to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all Things, and we in or for him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all Things, and we by him.* If we observe the manifest Scope of the Apostle here, it will appear that there is but small Occasion for the Warmth and Transport our Author expresses in asking (b), *Can any Mortal give a Reason why, if he had been of the Mind of your severe Censurers, he should not have expressed himself thus ; But to us there is but one God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost ?* Methinks our Author without so much Emotion might have consider'd, that it was not the Apostle's Design here, nor did the Subject he was upon oblige him to give an Account of the Mystery of the Trinity ; nor was he under any Necessity of representing the Differences or distinct Relations conceivable in the Divine Nature ; but the Thing which he does purposely assert, as best answering the End he had in view is, that there is but one God, in opposition to the Polytheism of the Gentiles, or the Opinion and Worship of many Gods, that was then so generally spread thro' the World. Had he been of the Mind of the Author, must he not have said, *Whereas there are many that are called Gods and Lords, many had in Veneration among the deluded Heathens : To us Christians there are but two Gods, One supreme and unoriginated, and the other subordinate and inferior ; a Being of glorious Perfections, and a God also by Office and delegated Power ? How much more natural and agreeable to*

his Purpose, and to the grand Design of the Gospel, which was to abolish the Idolatrous Worship of many Gods, to affirm, To us there is but One God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ, who is not another God, tho' in some Respect different from the Father ; tho' he be Man, yet being inseparably and immediately united to the divine Nature, he is to be consider'd, not as excluded from Deity, but as one God with the Father, by whom all Things in the present State are manag'd and immediately administred ? And the Apostle's saying, *To us there is but one God*, no more excludes Christ from being God with his Father, the God of Christians, than by adding, *There is but one Lord*, excludes the Father from being the Lord of Christians ; [Deut. vi. 4. *the Lord our God is one Lord*] or any more than Gods saying, Isa. xlivi. 11. *Besides me there is no Saviour*, excludes Christ from being the Saviour. Thus (a) Dr. Whitby produces plain Passages both from Origen and Novatian before the Arian Controversy, arguing in the same Manner from this Text.

BESIDES the Works here attributed to the Father and Christ, argue them, tho' in some Sense distinct, to be the same God. The Dr. therefore adds. 1.) *Christ is here styled that one Lord by whom are all things*, i.e. *by whom all things were created, which are in Heaven, and which are in Earth*. Eph. i. 9. Col. i. 16. and by the Work of Creation is the Godhead known. Rom. i. 20. and this is the very Description elsewhere made of God the Father, that it is he by whom are all Things, Rom. xi. 35. Heb. ii. 10. 2.) *All Things were created not only by this Lord, but [εἰς αὐτὸν] for him also*, Col. i. 16. the very Thing the Apostle here ascribes to God the Father. Moreover except we take him in this Sense, he seems to give Advantage for a just Reply to be made in excuse of the Heathen, who held one self-existent supreme God, but thought many other inferiour Gods and

Lords had a Right to a lower and subordinate Worship, as constituted and appointed by Him, in Power and Authority under him. At least to level his Discourse and Reasoning, against their Opinion and Practice, one might have expected, that he would rather have shewed them, or attempted to prove that the Gods many and Lords many, which they paid Service to, under the great God, were not indeed such as he had authoriz'd and appointed; but that Christ Jesus was the only inferiour Deputy Lord, or God by office, whom he commanded to be worship'd.

(a) As for *his speaking of the Father in this Text in contradiction to Jesus his Son, whom he stiles the One Lord*; besides what has been already observ'd, that he speaks not of him as another God, tho' in some Respect differing from the Father; we may consider that he speaks of him under another Character, as in our Nature ordain'd a Mediator. Thus *1 Tim. ii. 5. There is one God, and one Mediator between God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus*, who having the Fulness of the Deity dwelling in him, is fitted as a Day's-Man that takes hold of both, to adjust the Difference between God and Men, and thus without Inconsistence or Absurdity, God was in Christ reconciling the World to himself. Thus also *Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6.* where our Author suggests, that (b) *God-head is peculiarly attributed to the Father*, no more appears to be intended than that, whereas the Father is often represented as supporting the Majesty and Rights of the Deity; Christ Jesus, God manifested in the Flesh, and so of a distinct Consideration from the Father, is one Mediator and one Lord, unto whom all Judgment is committed; and into whose Faith, as but one and the same Faith all Christians are enter'd by one Baptism. What has been offer'd may be easily apply'd to *Jn. xvii. 3. This is life Eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom*

thou hast sent. The Author's Argument from this Text is, (a) If the Father to whom Christ here speaks, be the only true God, how can Christ be the only true God also? I answer because Christ and the Father are one, Jo. x. 30. Nor can these Words be reasonably supposed to exclude him from a true Divinity, who is in Scripture stiled [οντας θεός] the true God, 1 Jo. v. 20. [See *Whitby in loc.*] True therefore is the Gloss of *Grotius* that he is stiled the only true God in exclusion of those, whom the false Persuasion of the Gentiles had introduced; not so as to exclude the other Persons. In this Sense the Word *only* is frequently apply'd to God in the old Testament, Deut. xxxii. 12. [*κύριος μόνος*] the Lord only was their Guide, and there was no false Gods with them [*θεοίς ανόλεισι*]; and yet the Angel, in whom his Name was, went with them, and saved them, Exod. xxiii. 21. Isa. lxiii. 9. *I am the Lord, and besides me there is no Saviour*, Isa. xliii. 11. Nor does [*μόνος*, only] as used in the New Testament exclude all others, Jo. viii. 9. *Jesus was left alone, and the Woman in the midst* [*και ταξιδιώτης μόνος*]; also 1 Cor. ix. 6. or *I only and Barnabas*, [*καὶ μόνος εἰώ καὶ Βαρνάβας*] I see therefore no Reason why (b) Rom. xvi. 27. *To God only wise*; and Rev. xv. 4. *Thou only art holy*, Christ should be thought to be excluded? (c) Nor is it so manifest that the Title [*παντοχεῖτος*] Almighty, which seems in this latter Place given him, is never attributed to the Son, when not only here, but Rev. i. 8. he seems plainly to be called the Almighty, both because it is Christ that is spoken of in the Context, and for that the other Part of the Description there made of him, is unquestionably claim'd by him, ver. xi. 18. and chap. xxii. 13. mention'd as the distinguishing Character of the Lord of Hosts, Isa. xiv. 6. nor is it so plain that the (d) Song of Moses and the Lamb must import that Moses and the Lamb sing

(a) Letter p. 13. (b) Ibid. p. 82. (c) Ibid. (d) Ibid.

it, when we find that in the other Songs of this Book instead of the Lamb's singing, both Angels and Saints make him the Subject of their Songs, and address their Songs to him, and that jointly with the Father. *Rev. v. 9. 12, 13.* [I may add, that if in this, *John xvii. 3.* the Father be taken as spoken of, not strictly in a relative Sense, but essentially for the whole Godhead, as seems in many other Places to be, and as I confess I incline to understand it, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, to be directly spoken of the Messiah, the Man Christ in Union with the divine Nature, in which Capacity he makes this Prayer; the Sense will be very clear. This is the Way to eternal Life, that Men, forsaking all false Gods, acknowledge thee to be the only true God, and acknowledge me to be the true Messiah; the Redeemer and Saviour of lost Souls. And it is worthy of Remark, that to know Christ Jesus as sent of God, is made necessary to Salvation, as well as to know the Father; nor can God be savingly known but in Christ Jesus, whom whosoever hath seen, hath seen the Father also; and to whom like Honour and Worship is to be paid as is given to the Father.]

OUR Author having thus urg'd his Exceptions against the Deity of Christ, is yet loth to quit the Argument without taking Notice of those Passages of Scripture, wherein the Father is said to be greater than the Son. And that he is so in a true and proper Sense who doubts? Those who adhere to the common Faith do acknowledge that of the Son of God consider'd relatively, is inferior and subordinate to the Father, when yet his essential Glory and Perfection is the same, and he can't be properly a lesser or inferior God. A Father is always consider'd in that Relation as above his Son, and yet his Son not inferior to him, in the Nature, Properties and Endowments of a Man, much less is a Son of one Kind and Nature, and a Father of another.

Christ Jesus also as Man united to the Godhead, as well as wearing the Character of *Mediator*, or in that Quality and Consideration, is less than the Father. No wonder therefore 'tis said, *1 Cor. xv. 24, 27, 28.* *When he shall have deliver'd up the Kingdom to God even the Father,* who has left and committed the Administration of it to Jesus Christ unto that Day, *he shall himself also be subject unto him that put all Things under him, that God may be all in all;* even to the Man Christ Jesus, and to all both Angels and Saints, brought to Perfection of Glory and Happiness in and by him.

THERE are yet two things, the astonishing Love of God in Jesus Christ, and the Value of his Sacrifice; the Glory of which he might well foresee would be thought to be eclipsed; and which with others would be after all, apt to stick in the Minds of considerate and good Men, who are sensible of their Obligations to redeeming Grace, and build their Hope of Salvation upon an Atonement of infinite Worth. And how can they forbear being alarmed, and justly prejudiced against a Notion, which appears to them really to tend to lessen men's Esteem of Christ Jesus and his Love, and their Sense of Obligation to him? Must they not be upon their Guard, when such an Attempt is made to darken the Glory of the Son of God, and sap the Foundation of their Comfort and Hope? Can they be easily brought to think the Condescension of a Being of great Excellency, and his Sufferings to be more considerable, and that even with respect to Propitiation and Atonement, than what they admire and are ravish'd with in the Blessed Jesus, whom they consider in the glorious Constitution of his Person as God-Man? What tho' the Deity be impassible, and suffer'd not real Pain or Alteration, when Christ bore our Sins in his Body on the Cross? His holy Soul felt the Sting and Bitterness of Death, was in greatest Agonies of Sor-

row and Distress; and in the Opinion of such as suppose its Pre-existence in a State of highest Glory, underwent such like Changes as our Author imagines in the Being, he supposes to suffer in Flesh. But that which gave greatest Virtue and Price to his Obedience and Sufferings was the infinite Dignity of his Person, not the mere Pain which the humane Nature felt. How astonishing is the Consideration that God was manifested in the Flesh; that tho' the Deity it self was not capable of Misery, yet the Lustre of its Glory was veil'd, and it was truly concerned and interested in the Sufferings of the Humane Nature, which 'twas the most amazing Condescension for it to assume. So God loved the World that he gave his only begotten Son! He spared not his own Son! This entertains the Wonder and Songs of Angels, and the Triumphs of Saints, and will do so to Eternity, while Devils and harden'd Unbelievers fret and gnash their Teeth.

W H A T our Author is pleas'd to subjoin about the Holy Ghost, has been provided against in the preceding Discourse, and tho' the Deity of Christ has been more particularly consider'd and defended, yet there want not sufficient Proofs or Inducments to believe the same of the Holy Ghost, who is joined together with the Father and Christ in the Solemnity of Baptism, as to whom we are to devote our selves, by whose Grace we are sanctify'd, and under whose Conduct we are to be brought to Salvation. (a) *Lying unto him is called lying unto God.* (b) *Know ye not that ye are the Temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* It is God only that has a Right to have a Temple consecrated to him, wherein he may especially have his Residence, display his Glory, and have Service and solemn Oblations presented to him. It is from (c) him Grace is desir'd and pray'd for, in Conjunction with

(a) *Act 5. v. 3, 4.* (b) *1 Cor. iii. 16. Hag. i. 9.* (c) *2 Cor. xiii. 14. Rev. i. 4. 5.*
the

the Father and Christ. (d) *And these three are One.*
 It was the (e) Lord *Jehovah* that spake by the Prophets of old; (f) but they were inspir'd and acted
by the Holy Ghost who spake in them. Divine Perfections are acknowledg'd in him. (g) He is called the eternal Spirit; represented as every where present, (h) Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? And as intimately acquainted with all the Father's Counsels, (i) For the Spirit searches all Things, yea the deep Things of God. As the Spirit of Man knoweth the Things that are in him: so the Things of God knoweth none but the Spirit of God (*καὶ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν*); nor are the Works ascribed to him less than Divine, or the Effects and undoubted Products of Omnipotence which speak him to be true God. It was the (k) Spirit of the Lord that moved upon the Waters (*Chaos*) in the Creation of the World; and that (l) garnished the Heavens; the same (m) Spirit that raised up Christ Jesus from the Dead; and that (n) wrought the surprizing Miracles that were done by him and his Apostles; that does inspire Christians with a New and Divine Life, so as when they are said to be born again (o) of the Spirit, they are affirmed (p) to be born of God; (q) support them against all the Powers of Hell, and (r) raise them up again at the last Day. Yea, such as are the manifested and uncontested Works of Omnipotence done by him, that even the *Socinians* who deny his being a Divine Person attribute these Works to Almighty Power, and would have us to believe, that it is the Power of God which goes under the Notion of the Holy Ghost. Yet 'tis as plain and certain that the Scripture still speaks of him as of a Person, (s) who worketh according to his own

(d) *I John v. 7.* (e) *Heb. i. 1. Num. xi. 6.* (f) *Heb. iii. 7. 2 Pet. i. 4.*
 (g) *Heb. ix. 14.* (h) *Isa. cxxix. 7.* (i) *I Cor. ii. 10.* (k) *Gen. i. 2.*
 (l) *Job xxvi. 13.* (m) *Rom. viii. 11.* (n) *Ibid.* (o) *John iii. 5, 6.*
 (p) *John i. 13.* (q) *I John iv. 4.* (r) *Rom. viii. 11.* (s) *Heb. ii. 4.*

Will, and (a) distributeth to every Man his Gifts, and Graces severally as he pleases: (b) He enter'd into the Prophet *Ezekiel* and spake with him. How remarkably does the Manner of Expression, *John* xvi. 13. and elsewhere denote and signify his being a Person, *when the Spirit of Truth is come*: [ἐκεῖνος
ηὔπεμψε] Now how can we, upon the Evidence of these and the like Texts and Considerations, deny that the Deity does also properly belong to the Holy Ghost? or forbear being touch'd and deeply concerned at the Contempt and open Affront offer'd him in the Notioris by some entertain'd? Will the Appearance of some Difficulty presently justify or warrant an Attempt to wret and baffle plain Revelation? How strangely do Men sometimes treat the most sacred Things, and what Methods do they try under Prejudice, Bigotted and Prepossessed in favour of a darling Scheme?

But it is objected that (c) however plausible our Answers may seem to the Arguments for the Son's being inferior to the Father; yet those for the Inferiority of the Holy Ghost will not admit of any such Evasion, since he is neither Man nor Mediator. And why, if the Scripture mentions some Differences in the Divine Nature, and speaks of them as we use to do of Persons, may we not speak of them according to that Revelation, and suppose there is a certain Order in their Substance and Operation, or a sort of Subordination which we call relative, when there is no proper Subordination in the Godhead, nor is one Person inferior to another in respect of Nature and Essence? (d) But do not both the Father and Christ give and send the Holy Ghost, and must not a Person be supposed to have an Authority over one whom he sends? And what Absurdity in supposing that this may be done even among Equals, by Consent and Agreement, without any antecedent proper Superiority? Indeed here lies one part of the Mystery.

(a) *I Cor. xii. 21.* (b) *Ezek. iiiii. 24. xi. 1, 2.* (c) *Lector p. 16.* (d) *Ibid.*

of Grace in our Salvation, that the glorious Three do not only concur in the Design, and in Thoughts of mercy to apostate Men, but have condescended to assume distinct Offices, and to perform distinct Parts in order thereto. Now how easy is it to imagine that these Offices may be distinctly executed according to Agreement and voluntary Dispensation, tho' no superiour Authority be claim'd or exercised ; Thus as Christ Jesus voluntarily undertook the Work of our Redemption, and to glorify his Father herein ; so the Holy Spirit has undertaken to glorify Christ, to take of the Things of Christ, and shew unto us, &c.

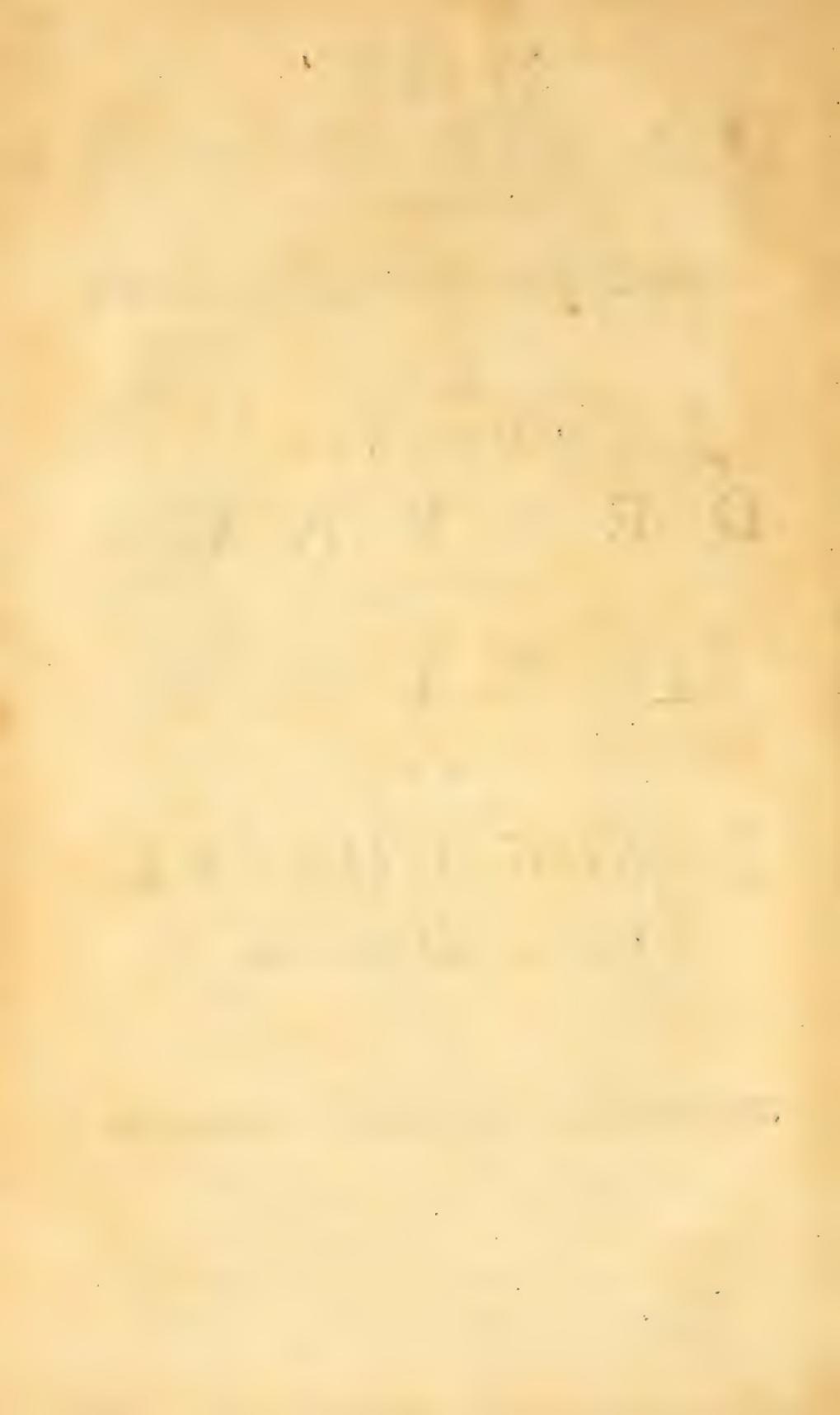
THUS I have endeavour'd with Candor and Mildness to consider what has been propos'd both for and against the true and proper Deity of our Lord Jesus, to examine the Scripture, and fairly offer from thence what seems to me to be the true Meaning, in a Point of Doctrine, that is purely of Revelation, and that I take to be of very great Importance to Christians ; nor have I knowingly passed over any thing in the Letter I have had under Considerations that I thought to be of Weight.

UPON the whole it may seem strange, not only to see great Confidence in such a Cause, but to find the Author *at a loss, to excuse their Arrogance, who lay such a Stress upon a Matter,* which appears to them to be of very great Moment, if not of the last Importance. However, upon a Review, he may possibly see Occasion for a little more Decency, with respect to the known and settled Belief of Christians, and have so much Charity left, as to allow that it has not been lightly taken up upon *obscure Hints* ; but upon the most serious and mature Searching of the Scriptures, by which as professedly bottom their Faith and Hope upon them, and have apply'd themselves with humble Minds, thence to learn the Will of God and live in Conformity to it.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant.

F I N I S.

THE CALM
DEFENCE
OF THE
DEITY
OF
JESUS CHRIST,
Continued and Maintained.



THE CALM
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
D E I T Y
O F
J E S U S C H R I S T,

Continued and Maintain'd;

A G A I N S T

The Reasonings and Exceptions of
the Author of the LETTER to a
DISSENTER in *Exeter:*

B E I N G

A REPLY to his *Plain Christianity De-*
fended, Third and Fourth Parts.

By JOHN MOORE,
of *Tiverton.*

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第十一回

香菱苦讀詩書

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The C A L M
D E F E N C E
Of the D E I T Y of
JESUS CHRIST
Continued & Maintained, &c.

S I R,

 If I had not thought the Interest of Religion nearly concerned in the late Disputes about the Deity of our Blessed Lord *Jesus*, I should hardly have been drawn out of my Retirement, and from more delightful Work, into the Field of Controversy, which I have always had an aversion to: especially observing with what uncharitable Heats, and ungenteel Artifices, it is wont to be managed. Some concurring Circumstances of Providence overruled, and led me into the Debate; which I was willing to carry on with such Calmness, and fair Methods, as become the Defenders of Truth; and which I never found to be a real Disadvantage or

Prejudice to it : whatever Diversion and Entertainment, angry Reflections and ill-natur'd Turns of Wit may give to corrupt Minds, that have little value or relish for it. Methinks it should be indifferent to the Wise and Considerate, in what way we must be saved ; and that we should be prepared to make impartial Enquiries into the Will of God about it, without being prepossessed in favour of an Opinion, merely because it had the Advantage of being first in the Mind, or comes with the flattering Air of Wit or Novelty. But how unkind and disingenuous, by Slander, or sly Insinuations, to seek the Ruin of his Reputation, or to expose him to Scorn and Contempt, who differs in Opinion from me, and merely upon this account ? If that be the sole Ground of Quarrel, he has on his part the same reason to be angry with me. The Interest of Truth is not serv'd or promoted by Methods of Injury and Provocation ; but secure of its Cause and intrinsick Worth, attempts to make its Conquests by fair and candid Proposals, and the Force of strong and convictive Proof.

I HOPE therefore I shall be excus'd, if I venture not upon those Indecencies and Terms of Reproach, which the common way of Controversy may seem to warrant, and some take for an Ornament in their Writings. It may satisfy the Judicious, without making Reprizals of that kind, to examine and give a just Answer to the Exceptions that have been made to my Defence of the Deity of Christ, in a Book plausibly entitled, * *Plain Christianity defended*, 3d and 4th parts. The Gentleman it seems intended to spirit up this Defence of himself, under Disguise, without appearing as the Author of the Letter. A piece of Management thought not improper for the Advantage of the Cause. Nor is it less Artifice, to

* Pl. Chr. p 48, 52.

set out the receiv'd Doctrine of the Trinity as of
 * abstruse Speculation, and pass his own upon the
 Unwary, under the Notion of plain Christianity.
 Somewhat strange ! that the Generality of learned
 and serious Christians should upon the most diligent
 Search, be yet so little apprized of this, as to re-
 ject it as unscriptural and absurd, and still condemn
 it as a dangerous Error ! The common Faith has
 hitherto stood the tryal of Opposition. Neither
 Wit nor Industry, Power or Policy, Craft or Learn-
 ing, have been wanting in such as have set them-
 selves against it. And tho' sometimes it has been
 disgraced and oppressed, yet it has again soon re-
 covered its Lustre and Credit, and maintained its
 Ground against Argument and Assault. Nor is it
 a small Ease and Satisfaction to my Mind, amidst
 Controversies and Disputes, after severer Enquiries,
 to find my Belief consonant to that of the far great-
 est part of Christians, who constantly professed and
 contended for this Doctrine, bottom'd their Hope
 and Comfort upon it, regulated their Worship and
 Practice by it, and went to Heaven with Triumph
 and Assurance. As for the *Suppositions of good Men*
about this matter, I see no reason to slight, or have
 them in contempt, tho' I build not my Faith upon
 them. And tho' some Doctrines of the greatest Im-
 portance, such as the Resurrection, and even Crea-
 tion, as well as that of the Trinity, be of difficult
 Explication ; this can't be admitted as a sufficient
 Argument against 'em, any more than against many
 things in Nature which are as unintelligible to us.
 Besides, it may be thought but reasonable and mo-
 dest in them that urge this, as a grand Objection
 against the Faith generally professed, first to clear
 their own Scheme of the apparent Absurdities it is
 chargeable with.

* Let. p. 3.

WHEREAS our Author * wishes that all Writers upon this Controversy would endeavour to serve the Design of Charity, which he pretends to promote ; he has my hearty Concurrence : nor would it have been any Impeachment of his Prudence, or Inconsistency with the Design, to have forbore the giving unfair Turns to innocent Expressions, and catching at Occasions of uncharitable Censures.

I STILL think it little for the Credit of the Opinions of late revived, that Men of Learning, who shew a Fondness for them, find it necessary in the Defence, to employ all the Quirks of Wit, and Arts of Criticism they are Masters of, to draw the Scriptures into a seeming Compliance. Yet it cannot be amiss, so far to comport with the Example, as to manifest of how little Service they are to the Cause they are used for the Support of. Nor need it be marked as a * *Quirk of the Defender's Wit*, to say that it gave him not a very favourable Opinion of Arianism, to find Mr. Whiston so little to rely upon Scripture-Proof, as to labour with the Expence of so much Pains and Learning, to bring in so many spurious, suspected, or adulterate Works of ignorant Antiquity, to be received as inspired Writings of equal Authority with the Holy Scriptures, considering what Advantage is hereby given to the Enemies of Revealed Religion ; wheras he did not in the least suggest, that the Letter was to be suspected of agreeing with him in these Notions.

WHAT was offer'd in the || Defence to shew the Peoples undoubted Right, to be satisfy'd in the Ministers, they stately communicate with as found in the Faith, and not to run a needless hazard of being drawn into Errors greatly to their prejudice, under the Conduct of such as are justly suppos'd to be in

* Pl. Chr. p. 4.

† Pl. Chr. p. 5

|| Pl. Chr. p. 6.

them ; the Author acknowledges † to be true, upon supposition of Peoples being convinc'd of their running a great hazard : but then, says he, the Query is, whether Christians can have any sufficient reason to apprehend, they shall run such a hazard in the Case before us ? To which I answer, That they are obliged to act according to their present Light and Convictions, and not according to his Sense and Opinion in the Case, who is pleased to suppose that they cannot have a sufficient reason for such Apprehension. But why should he not in Charity suppose, that they had used honest Endeavours, and proper Means, in their Station and Circumstances, as well as himself, and those of his side, to be rightly inform'd, and to arrive at the Knowledge of the Truth ? Or why should they be suspected of Insincerity, tho' they take not his Judgment to be the Standard of their Opinion and Practice, who thinks they cannot have sufficient reason ?

If some have acted with Weakness and Indiscretion, in breaking Communion with particular Persons or Churches, upon smaller Matters, or Niceties in Controversy ; it follows not, that the Denial of Christ's proper Divinity, which so nearly affects Christian Worship, may not be a sufficient Cause to cease stated Communion with a Minister, in the opinion of sober and sincere Christians : which is far from being applicable (justly) to every controverted Point, (however Liberty of Conscience ought not to be infring'd, even in the Weaker and less Judicious ; or Imposition allow'd under pretence of Unity or external Uniformity, or wanting better Information.) Nor need this presently be condemn'd as breaking the Communion of the Church ; or it be thought a Crime or Absurdity, for Persons of so different Apprehensions, to worship in different Assemblies, provided they do not uncharitably censure, much less attempt to persecute each

* Pl. Chr. p. 5.

other. A Man may highly value, and live in the Communion of the Church, altho' for just Reasons he judge it not lawful, or expedient, to settle in the Communion of this or the other particular Church. It is true, that the Communion of the Church ought not to be stated upon other Terms, than what Christ has appointed and made necessary, who is the sole Lord of it. But as this is well enough consistent with the Right that every Man, and every Christian Society, has to judge for themselves ; so it no way interferes with, or abridges, the Liberty which every Man has, to chuse, and fix under the Ministry he thinks in his Conscience, upon mature Consideration, to be most for his Edification, Safety, and Comfort. Nor is there any reason to fear, that the prudent Exercise of this Liberty will be the ready way to crumble the Christian Church into Factions and Parties, where no Tricks or factious Methods are used to spread private Opinions, or uncharitable Attempts made for mutual Impositions.

OUR Author then need not be so angry at my apprehending, that the Letter seem'd to threaten, that such as encouraged People in their Doubts (about communicating with Ministers thought to be fallen into dangerous Errors) might find themselves affected with the Consequences, when *Arians*, or others from among themselves, divided in their Sentiments, having formed their Party, might take the same measures, and in their turn seek to crush their Opponents. If it seemed to me as well as some others to have this Aspect, where is the Crime ? That Methods of Violence and Persecution were used by the *Arians* of old, when they got the upper hand, and the favour of the Civil Powers, is not deny'd. And tho' it be said, that the reputed *Orthodox* began, that could not, by the Rules of Charity, justify the severe Reprizals, which indeed, as he observes, were on both sides *disgraceful to the Religion they professed*. There will be less

less room for Apprehension, and Pretences to Charity will find more credit, if even under supposed Provocations, contemptuous Reflections be forborn, and a Christian Temper maintain'd ; if instead of bitter Resentments, and summoning the Horrors of a Spanish Inquisition to create Animosity and fix a frightful Idea, proper and seasonable Endeavours be used, to allay Passions and intemperate Heats.

Tho this Gentleman confesses that I frankly *disclaim Persecution*, yet he will needs harbour some Jealousy of me, because I *disclaimed not what was done at Exeter to Mr. Hallet and Mr. Pierce as Persecution* : but I hope he'll excuse me from divining ; a little Charity would have eas'd him of the unkind Jealousy, considering that the Defence was gone for the Presb before their Ejection. Nor have I any reason to apprehend the *World's Censure*, which he has the Civility to prompt, for my share and conduct in the Advice given to the Gentlemen of *Exeter* ; or should be ashamed to give the World account of it upon just and necessary Occasion.

WHEN I argue for the Liberty of Christians to judge for themselves, what Ministry to fit under, * without being confin'd to such as agree not with them in the Object and Manner of Worship, but willing to join in so solemn a Part of Worship as Prayer, where their Minds may be easy, and their Affections united ; he says, † There are two Mistakes here of the Point in hand : (1.) In supposing the Letter would have Men confine themselves to a particular Ministry ; whereas it pleads for their not confining themselves, and that they should be ready to attend the Ministry of any, who in the main order their Worship according to the Scriptures. (2.) In going upon the supposition of Peoples being uneasy ; whereas the Design of that part of the Letter, is to shew them they have no reason to be uneasy. For if the

* Def. p. 7. † Pl. Chr. p. 8.

Worship be directed to the Father thro' the Son, this is what all Christians may well be easy with. I answer, He either mistakes the Drift of my Discourse, or clouds the matter in Ambiguity. As to the first, If by being ready to attend a Ministry he mean only an Occasional Attendance, he'll find my Reasoning not directly levelled against that ; but if he intends, what I express'd, statedly to communicate, the Case is clear, that if Persons happen to be under a Ministry, which is become justly suspected to 'em, and judge it will be dangerous, and to their disadvantage to settle under it, they may desire to be excused from running a needless hazard, and may prefer such an one, as they can with more Safety and Comfort attend upon, as my words are; implying manifestly, that to be barr'd, or not allow'd such a Liberty, would be an injurious Confinement. As to the other Point ; The Uneasiness does not arise from the Worship's being directed to the Father thro' the Son ; nor does such a general Expression suffice to make easy, (in the mouth of a Minister, who is known to deny the true and proper Deity of Christ, and therefore) suppos'd by the Unsatisfy'd, not to be used in the true and intended Sense of Scripture, but in a Sense very injurious to his Honour. Nor can Persons be easy or safe in preferring, and chusing statedly to join in a Communion, where tho' Worship is professed to be directed to the Father thro' the Son ; yet that Worship which they believe in their Consciences is due and necessary, and required by the Word of God, to be directed immediately to Jesus Christ, is denyed, refused, or not given. The one, tho' lawful and the more ordinary way of Worship, must not exclude, or be thought sufficient without the other, since both are enjoin'd, and to be practis'd in the Assemblies of Christians.

I pass, as unconcern'd in, the * Reflections our

* Pl. Chr. p. 9.

Author makes upon that Management and Way of Writing, which he appears so well acquainted with, and which I think foreign to the Argument. Nor was it very candid in him to insinuate that we thought to carry the Cause by calling Men Arians; and charging them with damnable Heresies, without giving proof or instances of this in the Defence, whatever occasion was offer'd.

I WAS not indeed forward to determine what is absolutely fundamental, or absolutely necessary to Salvation, supposing with * Mr. Chillingworth, ‘ That may be sufficiently declared to one (all things consider'd) which (all things consider'd) to another is not sufficiently declared. And consequently that may be fundamental and necessary to one, which to another is not so. Which Variety of Circumstances makes it impossible to set down an exact Catalogue of Fundamentals.’ Nor was it for me to determine, what Allowances a gracious God may make, for the different Circumstances and Prejudices of Men, who use some honest Means for Information, tho’ they fall into Error. But our Author’s Jealousy grows, and prompts Expostulation upon this. *Why does he think we use only some honest Means, and that his own side are the only Men who use all honest Means?* And what if I charitably think that favourable Allowances will be made, where some honest Means are used, tho’ not all? I know of no great harm in the Supposition on the part of Sincerity, tho’ there be still the same difference between Truth and Error, and God is the alone Judge of the allowances to be made, who is not governed by our measures. Nor do I pretend to know by whom all Means are employ’d, tho’ if some Instances be consider’d, there will possibly appear no extraordinary reason to boast.

I AM still of the mind, that a Difference in the great Articles of Faith, cannot in just Estimate be

* Chillingw. Safe Way, p. 103.

an harmless, or *mere Difference in Opinion.* As a ~~wicked~~ Life is certainly to be condemn'd ; so are Opinions that subvert the Faith, without which we can expect but little Holiness. If the denying the Resurrection of the Body is to be esteem'd of such a nature and tendency ; the denying the Deity of Christ may possibly be thought not of less consequence, as sensibly affecting the Vitals of Religion, or the Life and Hope and Worship of Christians, as such. But says the Author, *If he thinks his Notions main Articles of the Christian Faith, 'tis much he cannot set them down in plain Scripture-Assertions.* Which he is pleas'd again and again to suggest ; but without just reason. For without advancing any private Notions of my own under such a Character, the great Articles I plead for and defend, I can and often do set down in plain Scripture Expressions ; (*viz.*) 'That the Lord our God is one Jehovah, that besides him there is no other God ; that as the Father is true God, so the Son also is true God, over all blessed for ever.' As for the Consequence, it may be securely left to form itself, and appears in our Lord's Assertion, *I and my Father are one.*

WHAT intemperate Heats and Passions appear'd, on either side of the Controversy, I was free to condemn, and shew my dislike of, and should have been surpriz'd at the Author's Assurance, in wholly acquitting his Party, if I had not been accustomed to his manner. He does not tell us, that he was present at the Debates ; but says, *By all the Accounts I have received, they are perfectly innocent :* subjoining this only reason, *For I cannot bear that they ever judge any Man's Estate for his Opinion.* As if Men might not be guilty of Heats and Indecencies, notwithstanding this whether true or no. But when he adds, *that by an artful and malicious Representation I would have them to appear guilty,* I am at a loss for the Candour, or Innocence of the Charge. The Facts were plain enough

enough before many Witnesses to justify the Representation ; and as for the Malice of it, I am secure and perfectly unconcern'd, and scorn to retort the uncharitable Censure.

THO' I yet see no reason to doubt that the Doctrine we maintain, was the Belief of the best, and most antient Churches, and esteemed a main Article of Christian Religion in the Ages preceding the Council of *Nice*, I thought myself not concern'd to engage in the proof of this, in answer to the Letter. It has been formerly and of late done by Persons of great Abilities and Learning : nor is it a small pleasure to perceive an Harmony and Concurrence in the same Faith. But being confessedly a matter of Revelation, I am content to seek it in the Holy Scriptures, and to leave the Decision of the Controversy to their Sentence.

WE may then attend our Author's Remarks on what I said p. 10. Here, with that great Master of Reason * ABP *Tillotson*, I fix my foot ; That there are three Differences in the Deity, which the Scripture speaks of by the Names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and every where speaks of them as we use to do of three distinct Persons : And therefore see no reason why in this Argument we should nicely abstain from using the word *Person*, † nor can see any just reason to quarrel at this Term.

UPON this he summons up some of his strongest and most popular Reasons grounded upon the Notion of Personality, which he would have to be apply'd to the Divine Three, in the same manner as to us Men, and thinks to load the common Faith with inextricable Difficulties on this account. *The same Arguments*, says he, *that evidence these to be three distinct Persons, do as fully evidence them to be three distinct Beings.* — If he thinks he can make a difference here, I

* Works in fol. p. 547. † Ibid. p. 589.

would desire him to let me know what that difference is. If he talks of Persons in a different Sense from that in which we always use the word, he ought clearly to define it.—I use the word Persons in speaking of this matter, just as I do when I speak of any Persons. I answ. He is at liberty to do so, and to abound in his own Sense; but that his Sense should be made a Standard for the rest of the Christian World, will not be so easily agreed. He well knows the common Sentiment has been stated upon a somewhat different foot; and that those, who have equally oppos'd the *Sabellian* and *Arian* Schemes, have not spoken of Persons in this matter, just as they do of any Persons. But while they have consider'd the distinct personal Characters, Relations, and Offices of Father, Son, and Spirit, as represented in Scripture, against the *Sabellians*, have as carefully guarded against the *Arian* Inference, that therefore they are three real different Beings, or Substances. A middle way has been generally taken by the Learned as the true Scripture-Account, apprehending a certain Distinction among the Divine Persons, and not that they are but three different Names, and yet believing them to be one in Nature and Perfection, as well as in Affection and Consent.

THE truth is, the word *Being* seems to be used ambiguously in this Debate, while some take it in a more general Sense, as signifying any thing that hath Existence, and is the Subject of certain Modes and Predications; and others confine it to a stricter, so as to denote a real and separate Substance. Hence if Personality be allow'd to import *Intelligent Being*, these latter presently infer, that *Persons* must signify different Substances; and because among us Men three Persons are three several Substances, therefore the Divine Persons must be several and divided Substances. But we can't be always safe in reasoning from what we experience in our Nature, to what must be in the Divine. That which creates difficulty in

in this matter seems to be, that we can carry our Conceptions, and Reasonings, no farther than we have Ideas to support them. Now these are agreed to arise either from Sensation or Reflection ; nor are we capable of forming any other, than what one or both of these do furnish us with. There are things in Heaven, which yet appear not to us, which have not enter'd into the Heart of Man. When St. Paul had been there in Spirit, he could not utter or express 'em by any words in use among us on Earth, which match the Conceptions we have of what is within us, or from without sollicits and affects our Sense. Our Knowledge here is very narrow, accommodated to the Circumstances of our present State, and can't be extended beyond the Reach of our present Ideas : how easily therefore may we mistake, when we venture to pronounce what is, or is not, competitive to the Divine Nature, so infinitely above our own ? And what Presumption to determine, that 'tis impossible there should be in it, what may be a sufficient ground for such Distinctions, as the Scriptures mention ; tho' Father, Son, and Spirit may be one in Substance, and not three separate Substances as three Men are ?

OUR present Conceptions are form'd upon our Experience, nor are we so well acquainted with the Nature of God, as to be able to frame a just Idea of all that is in it, or belongs to it. Revelation itself gives us no new Ideas, amidst the great Discoveries it makes ; but suiting itself to our present Capacity, and Condition, is content to let us have Notices of what as yet is incomprehensible to us. * Among finite Beings it is not to be expected, because not possible, to find any exact Resemblance of that which is infinite, and consequently is incomprehensible ; because whatever is infinite, is for that

* Tillotson's Works fol. p. 530.

reason incomprehensible by a finite Understanding ; which is too short and shallow to measure that which is infinite : and whoever attempts it, will soon find himself out of his Depth. * And that it ought not to offend us, that these Differences in the Deity are incomprehensible by our finite Understandings, because the divine Nature itself is so ; and yet the Belief of it is the Foundation of all Religion.'

If in our Souls, the only Nature within our Knowledge, that bears the Image of the Divine, we find the distinct Faculties of vital Power, Understanding, and Will, the former operating and exerting itself in and by the other ; yet as we cannot hence conclude, that there are such Faculties properly and formally in God, so nor that 'tis impossible there should be some Differences in the Deity, analogous to those Powers in us, which these are but a Shadow, and faint Resemblance of, and which, in that infinitely superior Nature, may be much more considerable, yet well consistent with the Unity thereof.

THAT which the Scripture sets forth with greatest Plainness, and which we may believe without puzzling ourselves about the manner, is, that there is but one only true and living God ; that as the Father is God, so the Son is God, that the proper Characters of Deity belong also to him ; that yet they are to be consider'd as distinct, and sustaining different Relations. And in reference to this, we need not nicely abstain from the Word *Person*, tho' the Scripture appear not directly to use it ; and tho' it be not intended to signify to the full, and in all respects, what *Person*, in relation to Men, doth ; as few of those things predicated of Men, when applied to God, do. And we may allow, all that is

* Tillotson's Works fol. p. 590.

wont to be comprised in the Notion of Person, with reference to the Father, Son, and Spirit, so far as is consistent with their being one in Substance and Perfection. But if because they are spoken of as distinct Persons, we must take them to be separate Substances, they must be different Gods, contrary to Reason and the plainest Revelation. † Mr. Nelson's learned Friend observes, ‘ That the Notion of a Person and an intelligent Being, in relation to the Creatures, is the same, because each such intelligent Being is supposed to have but one Subsistence--- But the Notion of a Person and an intelligent Being, in relation to God, is not the same, neither can they be reciprocally spoken the one of the other ; for tho' each divine Person by himself is an intelligent Being, yet the divine intelligent Being is not one Person only ; because God, who is that divine intelligent Being, is represented to us in Scripture, as having not one Subsistence only, but a Plurality of Subsistences : so that the Notion of a Plurality of Subsistences enters into the Idea of God, or the divine intelligent Being.

BUT our Author says, * I never find in all the Scripture, that the word God, in the singular Number, is put to express a complex Notion of more Persons than one. I answer ; I know not whether I well understand his Meaning about a complex Notion ; but do think, that in many places, both of the Old and New Testament, the word God does fairly signify and comprise the Persons both of Father and Son : For instance, I see not why in Gen. i. 1. where 'tis said, In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth ; the Word that was in the Beginning, and was God, should not be understood to be included ; by whom all things were created that are in Heaven and in Earth, and without whom, was not any thing made,

† True Script. Doct. part 2. p. 4.

* Pl. Chr. p. 12.

that

that was made; *1 John i. 3.* of whom 'tis said, *Heb. i. 10. And thou, Lord, in the Beginning hast laid the Foundation of the Earth; and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands.* Nor will it, I suppose, be objected, that *Elohim* is a Word of the plural Number, which is joined with a Verb of the singular, since those who are against a Plurality of Persons as denoted, would construct it singularly; and it is known, that what we render *Creator*, *Ecl. xii. 1.* is [אֱלֹהִים] *thy Creators*, in the Hebrew: and what we render *Maker* in *Isa liv. 5.* and *Psal. cxlix. 2.* is *Makers* in the Hebrew; tho' the same Word be often apply'd to God in the Singular; as *Psal. xcv. 6. Isa. li. 13,* &c. So that tho' in *Isa xliv. 24.* *Jehovah* is said to make all things, to stretch forth the Heavens *alone*, and spread forth the Earth *by himself*, this excludes not the Word that was in the Beginning with him, but probably intimates a Plurality of Persons creating; yet those Persons are but one Creator, because they are but one God, have but one Deity, and absolute divine Power by which they create, jointly concurring, or the same in all Operations *ad extra*. See also *Gen. i. 26.* chap. *iii. 22.* * *Isa vi. 1,—8.*

Another Instance may be, *Rom. xiv. 11, 12.* Every Tongue shall confess to God; so then every one of us shall give an account of himself to God; alledged as a Proof, that we shall all stand before the Judgment-seat of Christ, † *ver. 10.* the God in Unity with the Father, to whom every Knee must bow, and every Tongue confess, from *Isa. xlv. 23.* It is of a distinct Consideration, and alters not the Case, that Judgment is committed unto the Son of Man by Grant and Donation, (as will after be shwon) since if this Mediator be not God manifested in Flesh,

* *Pl. Chr. p. 16.*

† *Nels. True Script. Doct. p. 205.*

God as well as Man, the Assertion would not be clear, nor the Proof just.

WHEREAS our Author * puts it to me, whether I think the Scheme of the Archbishop (of the Father's being the Fountain of the Deity) can possibly be defended: He is not ignorant, that it has been defended by many of great Judgment and Learning, and † that 'tis spoken in a rhetorical and popular way, of which there may be a fair and candid Interpretation. But my Defence being not concerned directly in it, I see no occasion here for insisting upon it.

NOR do I see much reason to follow him, in the Remarks he is pleased to make, upon some of those Texts of Scripture I mention'd for the Deity of Christ, amidst a multitude and variety collected by Mr. Mayo, and others. It was the Defence of this that I had undertaken in answer to his Letter, which I was content to consider. If I had gone upon a fuller, and more general Proof, he might reasonably suppose, I should have taken another Method, and insisted on those Texts, upon which the clearest and strongest Arguments might be built. And it was popular enough in him, to except against some of more doubtful Interpretation, upon which no stress was intended to be laid, or Doctrine to be built, but as in conjunction with others more plain and certain.

I THEREFORE observed ||, to open the way to the intended Defence, that it cannot but be acknowledged, that there are numerous, and, to appearance, very plain Texts of Scripture alledg'd for the Proof of Christ's Deity, tho' the Sense of those Texts be disputed. And farther |||, that there is a great diffe-

* Pl. Chr. p. 12.

† Placeus takes notice of Crellius. Vexat id quod à quibusdam è nostris oratoriè & figuratè dictum est, Patrem esse Fontem Divinitatis—Hoc est quod nos simpliciter et magis propriè dicere solemus, Filium et Spiritum S. esse à Patre. *Disput. par. 3. p. 29.*

|| Calm Def. p. 11. ||| Ibid. p. 15.

rence between the conjunct Force and Evidence of many Texts of Scripture together, which mutually enlighten and support one another, in the Testimony they give to an important Truth ; and the Evidence of some single Passages, arbitrarily selected, and separately consider'd.

He might have forborn his Wonder, and critical Remark upon the Expression, he is said to be possessed by the Lord, *Prov. viii. 22.* the *in*, by the Error of the Press only, being put for *by*. Nor was I ignorant of the trouble, which the Septuagint Translation, in use among the Greeks, gave some of old, by rendering it, *he created me*, departing manifestly from the Sense and Import of the original Hebrew, which few of them understood. And yet even [אֶלְיוֹן] if not by the fault of Transcribers, put for [אֶלְעָזָר or אֶלְעָזָרִי] was thought capable of another Sense; and the LXXII in *Zach. xiii. 5.* render [הַקִּבֵּץ] the same word in a different Conjugation, signifying *possidere me fecit*, [יִבְרָאֵנָה] *begat me*. But tho the Antients had this Translation in use before the fourth Century, I can no way comprehend, how *this is a certain Evidence, that the Doctrine we defend, was not then esteem'd a main Article of the Christian Faith*; as he with so much assurance asserts.

As to Christ's being called, *The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father*, *Isa. ix. 6.* says he, *I may well refer him to Mr. Gataker in the Assembly's Annotations, which according to him should be render'd, A Mighty God, as we readily grant he is : The Father of Eternity, that is, the Author of Eternal Life.* I might securely pass it by, but for the sake of the Reader, and the Learned Mr. Gataker, who seem not to be candidly dealt with, I should be glad, that the Annotations might be consulted ; where, upon this Text, that judicious Commentator does both assert and prove the Eternal Deity of Christ, against those among Jews and Christians, that would lower and divert the Sense. *Unto us*

us a Child is born; says he, ‘ Even the Messias, the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father. A Child at his Birth in regard of his human Nature, tho’ the Son of God from Eternity in regard of his Deity.’ Nor does he affirm it *should*, tho’ he allows it *may* be render’d, *A mighty God*: but adds, that ‘ the word [Εἷ] howsoever in the plural Number some once or twice it may signify *Great ones*; yet in the singular Number, it is never used, but for God; and with the Adjection *Great and Mighty God*, the Title fitteth well to Christ, who hath all the Names of Deity given to him in Scripture;’ as he there enumerates, and in this respect (not in the *Socinian* or *Arian* Sense) the Author of Eternal Life.

FOR *Rom.* xiv. 11. it has been already taken notice of, p. 16. and will be further afterwards. He to whom every Tongue must confess, or swear, is God, or *Jehovah*. Compare *Isa.* xlvi. 21, 23.

UPON my suggesting, that where Christ is called the beginning [ἡ ἀρχὴ] might be render’d, the Efficient Cause, of the Creation of God; * our Author thinks it for his purpose to make an Harangue, as if I went to build a *Doctrine upon a doubtful Interpretation*, which I intended not to do; and then labours to set out the Strength of the *Arian Argument* hence, to prove that Christ is a Creature, which it may be soon enough to consider, when he sees fit openly to espouse, and declare for it. And tho’ he says, ‘ *Tis indeed one of the strongest Texts in favour of that Notion*; yet but supposing it fairly capable of the Sense I offer’d, it appears not to be *unanswerable*, whether it *convince them* or no, who having taken up an Opinion, are resolv’d to maintain it. ABp *Tillotson* says, ‘ † It is very probable, that the Son of God calls himself, *the Beginning of the Creation of God*, meaning by it, as the Philosophers most frequently use the

* *Pl. Chr.* p. 14.

† *Fol.* p. 529.

word ἀρχὴ, the *Principle*, or *Efficient Cause* of the Creation. And so we find the same word, which our Translation renders *the Beginning*, used together with the word *First-born*, as if they were of the same importance ; * *The Beginning and First-born from the Dead*, that is, the *Principle* and *Efficient Cause* of the Resurrection of the Dead.'

I KNOW not why I might not make use of Tit. ii. 13. The glorious appearing of the Great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, till I had answer'd what Dr. Clark says of it ; when there was no occasion then of having his Reasons under consideration, nor was I convinc'd by them of a Misapplication of the Text. For to say, that the Title of *great God* is appropriate to the Person of the Father, and belongs not to the Son, is to suppose what is neither proved nor will be granted. And besides that there being no Article before [οὐτὸς] both Titles of *great God* and *Saviour*, according to Grammatical Construction (which Dr. Clark allows) seem to belong equally to the same Subject ; the [εἶδος] Appearance is still spoken in Scripture of Jesus Christ, and not of the Father : And also what follows, ver. 14. is directly and currently spoken of Christ, without a word of the Father.

WHEREAS the Author thinks, 'tis plain that Christ was not the same God with the Father, because he, in his own Person, was never seen, never manifested to any Man : He takes for granted what he knows is deny'd, that he can't be the same God, except he be the same Person. Tho' God be not manifested in the Person of the Father, this hinders not but he may in the Person of the Son.

WHEN God is said † to have redeemed the Church with his own Blood ; to answer with Socinus, that as Christ is God's, his Blood might be stiled the Blood of God,

* Col. i. 18.

† Act. xx. 28.

is such an odd way of Interpretation, as may serve to elude the Sense of the plainest Text. Can it be justly said, that God confirmed the Truth with *his own Blood*, because *Peter* and *Paul* and other Martyrs were undoubtedly *God's*? My Spirit and my Body are *his*; yet can it not in any Propriety of Speech be said, nor does the Scripture allow it to be said, if my Body be wounded, that *God's own Body* is hurt, or that what is perform'd by my Spirit, is done by the Spirit of God. But if that Evasion serve not, he tells us, *he prefers the Reading of the Manuscripts, which have the Church of the Lord which he redeemed.* But the common Reading being established upon the Agreement of so many good Manuscripts, * which Dr. *Mills* upon good reason prefers and adheres to, there appears little ground to depart from it, where the Cause does not need it; besides that, *the Church of God, not of the Lord, is the constant Stile of the New Testament*, the latter Phrase not appearing to be once used.

As for the Honour, Glory, and Worship, given to Christ by Angels and Men, that 'tis only by the Father's Gift, as he so often suggests, 'twill be fully consider'd afterwards. That, *Isa. vi. 8. There were more Persons than one present,* Whom shall I send? and who will go for us? I readily grant; but find not, that there were more Gods than one present. The Expression rather implies, One God in a Plurality of Persons.

I THOUGHT indeed, from those numerous, and to appearance very plain Texts of Scripture, wont to be produced (some of which I mention'd) which set forth Christ under the distinguishing Titles and Characters of GOD, we could not well forbear concluding, that Deity in a proper Sense belongs to the Son of God. And that it seems wonderful, if no

* In loc. Prolegom. p. 146. col. 2.

such thing was intended, that so little Caution is used to prevent the fatal Mistake. But our Author (after observing that the Notion of three Persons being one God, is never once laid down in the Scriptures, which hath been already accounted for) pretends 'tis Caution enough, that when it (the Scripture) gives the Title of God to Christ, 'tis not to be understood as tho' he were God in the same Sense with the Father. But how does this appear? If by the same he means as we do, in as true and proper sense, what Proof to convince us that 'tis not so to be understood? That the Scripture always insists upon it, that there is but one God, we do not only allow, but often urge; and that it declares that this one God is the Father, we deny not, but add, that the same Scripture declares also the Son to be God, and the God of Israel: yet take not this to be sufficient proof, or ground to conclude, that because Father and Son are two distinct Persons, therefore they are two different Gods.

'Tis evident, that the Caution which he pretends was given, proved not sufficient, when (as I took notice) in a manner, the whole Christian World; when the Reformed Churches in these latter Ages, professedly making the Scriptures their Study, the Rule of their Faith and Manners, settled in this Belief, unable to espy and escape the fatal Delusion; when under the influence thereof Religion eminently flourish'd, and innumerable Souls that ardently loved God and hated Idolatry, lived to his praise, and died with triumph. What says he to this? Why, first he would fain insinuate, what he will not find so easy to prove, That this is a wrong Persuasion, introduced under, and a part of, the grand Apostacy, to be reformed upon the Reformation, provided his Opinion be taken for the measure. Then he quarrels with the word fatal, by which surely I intended not, as I plainly intimated, that Men in this Belief must perish; but that it could not but be of dangerous consequence, to be deceived in the Object of

of their Worship, and the Ground of their Hope. What tho' the Father has been address'd to as the Supreme Object of Worship; will that exempt from Danger of Idolatry such as take Christ also to be true God, and worship him accordingly? At length he comes off thus: *His popular Harangue might be easily taken up by Papists, and turned against himself in favour of Transubstantiation.* (There would be more colour for this, if the Scripture did say as much in favour of Transubstantiation, as of the Deity of Christ.) How easily may they argue from the Opinion of several Ages, nay, from the Opinions of such famous Men as Wickliff and his Followers, or of John Hus and Jerom of Prague, whom he will allow for Martyrs (not surely for Transubstantiation) and who yet all believed that Doctrine. A little Reflection will shew the Sophistry of this. Transubstantiation is so far from having been the general and constant Doctrine of the Christian Church, that it came not in till the ninth Century, and was scarce establish'd till the eleventh; Times of greatest Ignorance and Superstition, by the confession of the Popish Historians themselves. Whereas that of Christ's Divinity has not only been generally received all along the better and more learned Ages of Christianity, but from time to time maintain'd against the most violent and subtle Opposition. Little Plea could be made from Scripture for the former, founded upon a few words, that were manifestly to be understood in a figurative sense, directly crossing the Reason and found Senses of Mankind in a Case plainly subject to their Judgment: the latter, of mere Revelation, deliver'd in the plainest Terms, supported by a very great number of Texts, not to be wrested to another Meaning but by notable Methods of Artifice, and clearly above the Decision of human Science. That *Wickliff* and *Hus* and others, in the first Dawnings of Light, after Ages of the grossest Darkness, gave alarm to the Nations sunk into Vice and horrible

horrible Superstition, and attempted some Reformation, we gratefully acknowledge the Mercy of Providence in ; tho' the Absurdities of Transubstantiation were not so fully seen, being not then the Subject of Controversy. But when the Reformation came to be establish'd amidst surprizing Increases of Light and Learning, not only this, but much less Errors of Popery were discarded. And tho' by the Policy of Hell, old Heresies were then revived and propagated with Craft and Industry, to disturb the glorious Design, and the Godhead of Christ particularly disputed and eagerly oppugned ; yet this generally then obtain'd, and was settled, as a prime Article in the Confessions of the Reformed Churches. Nor, it may be, have there appeared, since the Apostles time, Men of greater Piety and Knowledge in the Scriptures, than those under whose Conduct this was done.

OUR Author grants the Truth of what I had observed, That we may be persuaded of the Existence or Being of a thing upon the clearest grounds, when yet we cannot comprehend it, or give a satisfactory account of it to our own Minds ; but *denies that there are any clear Grounds to believe the thing at all, either in Reason or Revelation.* Here I must remind, that the main thing under debate, is, whether Deity does properly belong to Jesus Christ ; and 'tis sufficient if we find clear grounds for the Affirmative in the Scripture, without running into Explications of the Trinity, or nicely setting out the Characters of Divine Personality. He adds, *The Scripture represents the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be three distinct Persons or Beings* (how and in what sense, hath been consider'd a little before) *but says not they are only three Distinctions in the same Divine Nature :* (nor are the words, *three distinct Persons or Beings*, the words of Scripture.) The only question here is, If the Scripture ascribe the same divine Perfections to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and

and declares that there is but one God ; whether it be impossible or a Contradiction, that there should be such Distinctions in the Divine Nature, as may be a sufficient ground for distinct personal Attributions and Predications ? And unless this be plainly proved, our Debate is little concerned. Yet how this can be done, without pretending to determine what can, or cannot, be in the Incomprehensible Nature of God, I know not. -A little Reflection upon the Shortness of our Understanding, may prevent our being positive and peremptory, in matters so much above us. And why should *the Nature of the Supreme God seem incapable of such an Abasement, and emptying of itself, as the Scriptures attribute to that divine Person, who took upon him our Nature?* If Love that passeth Knowledge, and Goodness divine, will display its Glories in such an astonishing Condescension, we need not dispute and quarrel at its measures, so much above our Thought, as the Heaven is above the Earth. And why should it be impossible for the Nature of God to be united to the Nature of Man, under the distinct Consideration and Character of the Word, tho' it be not incarnate in the relation of the Father, or the Holy Ghost, and without being subject to the Changes and Passions incident to the human Nature ? I cannot yet perceive the Absurdity of supposing, that God may, for just and weighty Reasons, secure of his own Greatness, unite human Nature to his own in the Person of the Son.

HAVING examin'd his Objections against the common Doctrine, we may observe in what manner he attempts to clear his own Scheme of the Absurdities it is charged with. And is there no Difficulty in admitting two Gods? a thing so abhorrent to Reason, and so contrary to Revelation, which expressly forbids the having any more Gods than one. But where (says he) is the Repugnancy—*seeing we own but one God in the most strict Sense of the Word?* The

truth is, the Scripture appears to me, to lie so cross to this Conceit, that it gives me a sufficient Prejudice and Aversion to any plausible Scheme, or Explication, that is advanced, if it leads me to have any more Gods than one: You may tell me again and again, we own but one supreme God, we take the other to be a different and subordinate God, yet properly God also, and not in a figurative Sense. You may say what you please; but it sticks with me, that the supreme God has told me, I must have no other God besides himself. You will, it may be, undertake to answer for me, by your prudent Distinction; but I shall scarce venture to trust it, and pay Worship and Allegiance to another God, e'er my Maker and undoubted Sovereign make the Distinction, and tell me in what Sense, and how far he will part with his Glory to another. As there appears not, in those Texts of Scripture that speak of the Unity of the divine Nature, the least Exception or Reverse, in favour of any inferior or subordinate Deities; so 'tis the manifest Design and End of them, to prelude and take off from the Acknowledgment and Service of such, there being much less danger of running into the Opinion and Worship of many supreme Gods, which the Theology of the *Gentiles* did hardly allow. In short, while you own, and the Scriptures most plainly declare, that Christ is God, I must conceive him to be the same, or one, with the supreme God, or else another God: but that supreme God has expressly declared, that there is no God else besides him; that he knows not any other; that before him there was no God formed, neither shall there be after him, *Isa.* xlv. 5, 21. chap. xliv. 8. chap. xliii. 10. This not only aws me into Silence, but satisfies my Mind, and secures my Regards.

As for the Difficulty of owning a Creature, or another Being than God, to be the Creator of the World,

World, (to whom the Homage of all the Creatures must be immediately due) it will come to be farther considered afterward, in its proper Place. But our Author *thinks it most proper to speak of him as the Son, not as a Creature.* Whereby he owns his being deriv'd from the Father in an ineffable manner; but distinguish'd from the Beings we call Creatures. As if he who derives his Being and Power from another, or, in other words, is a voluntary Production, can be any other than the Creature of that other. For if the *Derivation were by Necessity of Nature,* Dr. Clark cannot but acknowledge, it would be *in Reality and Self-Existence* (the most peculiar Property of the supreme God) *not Filiation;* 2d Ed. p. 246. And what will it signify to give him the Name of Son, and tell us, he is distinguish'd from the Beings we call Creatures, without specifying how, and in what Sense he is distinguish'd, or what is the distinct Nature of those Beings, he will call Creatures? If he be fancy'd (as what may not a Man fancy?) to be distinguish'd only from other Creatures, by the Honour of being made first, and used as a sort of Instrument in producing them, he will not by this be distinguished from them in *Quality of a Creature, but of Order only and Privilege.*

NOR is it any more intelligible to me after closest Tryal and Application of Thought, and after the boasted Plainness of this sort of Christianity, that there should be a middle Being between God and a Creature, between finite and infinite, that is, neither one nor t' other; than that there should be three Differences in the incomprehensible Nature of God, mark'd by the Names of Father, Word, and Spirit. Besides, it seems strange and unaccountable to me, that I should be required, upon pain of Damnation, to believe in, and live devoted to the Service and Glory of I know not what Being, whom

I must not conceive to be either God or Creature only am told that he is called Son.

N O R is it more intelligible to me, notwithstanding the pretended Plainness of this Scheme, how a Creature should exercise a creating (that is, an infinite) Power. *But, says he, why may not the Supreme Being be able to communicate to another, a Power of creating?* Possibly it may be as well asked, why he may not communicate Self-Existence and Eternity, or any other divine Perfections to another? I am sure the Scripture does every where set forth the great God, as the only Maker of Heaven and Earth, as distinguished from all others by this Character, and as demanding our Homage upon this account. Nor does it any where tell us, that he has communicated Creating Power to any (*Creature, or*) *Being* of a different Nature from himself. To suppose this in the Case of Christ Jesus, is to suppose what the Scripture says not, and to beg the thing in question against strong Evidence to the contrary. If the supreme God communicated Creating Power, did he after this do nothing, but leave the Management of the Creation to that other, to whom he had derived, and entrusted it? Is he no farther concerned in us, than in that he gave another the Power to make and govern us, and immediately to receive the entire Homage due from Creatures? Was God properly a Creator at all, when it was another that created all, tho' by a Power derived from him; when it was not properly his Work, but the Work of another, whom he did only empower and order to do it? It is by a Power derived from God, that we perform the common Actions of Life; yet it is not God that does these Actions, they properly belong, and are to be ascribed to the immediate Subject of that Power. Neither does it seem conceivable, that the Creating Act, or the Production of Being from nothing, should be divided between a superior and subordinate

nate Agent ; or that there should be Occasion, or the least Pretence of Reason, for God's making one Being first, that he might employ his Instrumentality in making the rest. How much more reasonable to believe, that as Creation could not be but by his Power, who made all things for himself ; so he would reserve entirely to himself the Glory, the Dependence, and Regards of his Creatures ?

IT was farther objected as matter of Prejudice against the Scheme, that, contrary to the plainest Declarations of Scripture, it supposes the great Mediator to be neither true God nor true Man : but this is, it seems, no Difficulty at all to the Author ; to whom rather *it looks indeed somewhat like an Absurdity, that he should be a Mediator between himself and Men.* And were we in the Sentiment of the *Sabellians*, making the Father and Son to be the same Person, there might be Pretence for such an Objection ; but what Absurdity in supposing the Man Christ Jesus, related to, and inseparably united with the divine Nature, as distinguished in the Son, to bear the Character, and perform the Office of Mediator, between the supreme God and his revolted Creatures ? What Inconsistency, or so much as Incongruity, in conceiving, that distinct divine Persons, by Dispensation and Agreement, assume, and perform the part of distinct Offices ?

BUT however, methinks, our Mediator might be allow'd to be a true *Man*, and to have a rational Soul ; yea, says our Author, *If the Logos, or Word, was the Soul of the Man Christ Jesus, will not that be rational enough to make a Man ?* Very like, if a glorious Angel were the Soul of a Man, it might be rational enough : and so might the Being, which he yet ventures not to call a Creature, did he in earnest prove that the one or the other were properly a human Soul. But to assert or imagine, that it does become so, merely by animating organized Flesh in human Shape, agrees not any way with Scripture or

Philosophy, nor is the Fancy warranted or countenanc'd by the Language of either, but rather confounds the Nature of things, making all Spirits to be of the same Kind or Species, which seems to be utterly uncapable of Proof ; and who can say, that an human Soul becomes of the Nature of Angels, when divested of Flesh ? That human Nature is often in Scripture, by an usual and easy Figure, signified by Flesh, which denotes that part of it that is visible, and falls under the notice of Sense, can not well be denied ; tho' considered and taken separately by itself, it is not Man. *Ex gr. All Flesh is Grass.* *All Flesh shall come to thee.* *No Flesh shall be justified.* *All Flesh had corrupted their Way,* Psal. lvi. 4. *I will not fear what Flesh,* that is, ver. 11. *I will not be afraid what Man can do unto me.* Thus, the WORD was made Flesh, importing, that he took not the Nature of Angels, or a mere human Body, but the Nature of Man, with its common Infirmities. ‘ Our ‘ Saviour (*says* * *Archbishop Tillotson*) is frequently ‘ in Scripture and expressly said to be a *Man*, which ‘ could in no propriety of Speech have been said, ‘ had he only assumed a *human Body*; nor could he ‘ have been said to have been *made in all things like unto us, Sin only excepted*, had he only had a ‘ *human Body*, but not a *Soul*. For then the Meaning must have been, that he had been *made in all things like unto us*, that is, like to a *Man*, that only excepted, which chiefly makes the *Man*, that is the *Soul*: and the Addition of those Words, *Sin only excepted*, had been no less strange; because a *human Body* without a *Soul*, is neither capable of being said to have *Sin*, or to be without it.’ Worthy Mr. Withers did not amiss observe, † ‘ That the Heresy of Arius consisted in three things, (1.) In affirming the Son of God was but a Creature.

* Works fol. p. 553. † Mr. Pierce's West. Inquis. p. 104, 105
‘ (2.)

' (2.) That there was a time when he had no Existence. (3.) That his superangelical Nature animated his Body instead of a rational Soul. These were the peculiar distinguishing Opinions of that Man.' How far our Author is concern'd in 'em, I need not curiously enquire, (not forward to fasten a Charge of Arianism upon such as disown it, as he sometimes groundlessly suggests.) He now sees fit to declare for the last, tho' he speaks with more Reserve, in reference to the former, not much differing from the Language of the *Semi-Arians*, in the Passage a little before considered. *I think it most proper to speak of him (Christ) as the Son, not as a Creature; whereby I own his being derived from the Father in an ineffable manner, but distinguish him from the Beings we call Creatures.* I leave it to himself to shew, and to others to guess, whether this will exempt him from being truly a Creature, with respect to God, from whose Power and Will he derived his Being, tho' above the Rank of inferior Creatures. However, if his *Being* be not necessary, or derived by necessity of Nature, call him a Son, or an higher sort of Creature, must not the Self-existent God be before him? and must there not be some time or moment before his Production, or Existence? which how to distinguish for Arius's [ἀντόλει, δέ τε ἐν αὐτῷ] *There was a time when he was not*, they may do well to tell us, who would be thought not to be in his peculiar Opinions. And since they so often demand Explications of us, it seems not unreasonable to expect, that they should tell, what is to be understood by Christ's being begotten of the Father, in distinction from them, that are Sons of God by Creation, and prove their Sense from Scripture, and not put us off, by saying it is *ineffable*; or else what Advantage have they in this, as well as other Points, as to plain Christianity?

ADVANCING to the Examination of those Texts of Scripture, which our Author was pleas'd to take notice of, as wont to be alledged in Proof of Christ's Divinity, I observ'd a great Difference between the conjunct Evidence of many Texts of Scripture, and the Evidence of some single Passages, arbitrarily selected, and separately considered; yea, *which*, says he, *I take to be really a Confession, that he has no Place in Scripture, that does separately declare his main Article of Christian Faith.* A strange Inference! when I had quoted several Texts that separately declare it; but however, where a Multitude and Variety of Texts concur, to give testimony to an important Doctrine, I take that Doctrine to be better established, than if signified in one or two Texts only in express Words, what he so often insists upon. The express Words of Christ are urged for Transubstantiation; *This is my Body.* Is it therefore an Article of Faith with him? or does he believe it the more in the literal Sense? He thinks he can easily avoid the Force of the Argument. If it was in express Words said in Scripture, the Father, Word, and Holy Spirit are one God; is he not acquainted with those, that can presently furnish with evasive Answers, and have Arts in readiness, to elude the plainest Texts? We are told, that God is a Spirit. The *Socinians* smile at the Proof of a single Text, however express, and containing a Doctrine of moment, and can readily enumerate several Senses in which [*πνευμα*] Spirit, is found, different from that, which we justly believe to be the true and intended. But the truth is, I scarce know any thing more fully, and more expressly declared in the Scriptures, than the Doctrine I am engaged in the Defence of, That there is but one God, and that Christ Jesus is true God. And tho' this, or the other Text apart, should be capable of another Meaning, and of being evaded; yet the conjunct Force and Evidence of a very great number

ber of Texts, pregnant with the same Doctrine, and running through the whole System of Gospel-Truth, must differently affect, and weigh much with the Judicious and Considerate.

(1.) THE first Text our Author mentioned, as a grand Argument for the Doctrine we maintain, is *I John. v. 7.* Tho', I said, for what reason this is set in the Front, and made so grand an Argument, can't escape Remark by such as know, that no extraordinary Stress is laid upon it, tho' it will not be easily parted with; which may consist well enough, with its being commonly *made use of* by those who *plead for the Doctrine*, and its being *chosen* by some *as a proper Text for Sermons upon this Controversy*.

As for its being genuine, I observ'd how much had been alledg'd by Men of great Judgment and Learning in defence of it. Not only *Gerhard*, and the famous Dr. *Hammond*, among many others, but Dr. *Mill*, and Mr. *Martin*, of late, had, after the most careful Researches, given the World sufficient Satisfaction about it. He would have this pass for an equal degree of Confidence, with what he had expressed on his side, in saying, That it was *past all Controversy*, that it was not genuine. It might possibly be so with him, and his Friends; but why might I not apprehend, the solid Reasons, offered in proof of the Text, capable of giving Satisfaction, when I perceiv'd it so general among such as had consider'd 'em? far enough from asserting, that it was past all Controversy. He thinks, if I had looked into the Answer to Mr. Martin's Piece, I might have had a different Opinion of it. I can tell him, that I had done this, and that I have also perused Mr. Martin's Examination of that Answer, and that I see not yet reason to alter my Opinion. I can tell him too, notwithstanding his little Insinuation to the contrary, which he might think for his Purpose, that I had carefully read the Authors I mention'd,

and others upon the Subject, and Dr. *Mill* particularly once and again, that I might form the best Judgment I could, upon the Probabilities offer'd on either side. I had *Socrates* also before me, when I wrote, and I fairly quoted, what he, as an Historian, relates : If he *blundered* in the Application, neither I, nor the Text under debate, are concerned in the Blunder.

As for the Quotations out of *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, as a Proof that the Text was read in their time, long before the Rise of the *Arian Controversy*, they have been so well clear'd and supported by the judicious Remarks of Dr. *Mill* and Mr. *Martin*, against the Objections that have been made, that I see but little reason to be moved by them ; tho' the Author make bold to be of another Mind. And tho' I did not with him boldly assert the Preface to the seven Canonical Epistles to be plainly convicted of Forgery ; yet I mention'd it as doubtful, thinking Dr. *Mill's* Reasons against it sufficient Ground to suspect it. However, I justly took notice, that Mr. *Martin* maintains it, and takes some pains to prove it genuine, who still believes, that his Answers to the Objections deserve Consideration. And for its being antient, he says, * ' This Preface is found in the Bibles of ' eight or nine hundred Years old ; the Latin ' Churches have received it with their Bibles in all ' Countries, and at all Times ; and no Person that ' we know of, in its passage thro' so many Ages, ' and among so different Nations, has charg'd it ' with being spurious.— The Clouds of Sus- ' picions and Doubts were not formed around it, ' till our Days.' Mr. *Simon* was content to conjecture, that it was composed by one of those whom *Charles the Great* employ'd to correct the Bible, in the Close of the eighth Century. But that those

* *Mart. Exam.* p. 22, 23.

learned Men, appointed by that great Prince to make the Revise, should not have *Greek Manuscripts* to consult ; should be so supine, in the Management of such an important Charge and Design, as little to regard 'em ; or should presume to put this Text in their Bibles, without the Warrant and Authority of proper Manuscripts, seems not of easy belief, except with such as have espoused an Opinion, which they are loth to admit of any thing in prejudice of.

OUR Author * grants, that the Passage began to appear in the Latin Translation soon after the middle of the fifth Century ; however, adds, which cannot be thought any great Argument of its being authentick : insinuating a Charge of the most criminal nature upon the Orthodox, which he has not the least Proof of ; which the vigilant and subtle *Arians* of those Times appear not to suggest, and which they would not have fail'd to expose ; viz. the direct adding to the Scriptures, a Passage of so great Importance, which had not been found there before ; which could not escape notice, which must needs alarm, and which they so little needed to support their Doctrine. Thus Dr. † Bently observes ; ‘ If the fourth Century knew the Text, let it come in, in God’s Name ; but if that Age knew it not, then *Arianism* in its height, was beat down without the Help of that Verse. And let the Fact prove how it will, the Doctrine is unshaken.’ The truth is, this was actually done by many worthy Writers, without being acquainted with, or making use of this Text. As for the Doctor’s Manuscripts, when I see his Performance, I shall be able to make a better Judgment.

THE Passage did not only appear soon after the middle of the fifth Century, as is acknowledged ; but upon such a solemn occasion, and in such circumstances, as

* Pl. Chr. p. 23.

† Ans. to 2 Let. in Eml. Ans. to Mart. Dissert. p. 12.

cannot but weigh much with the considerate and impartial. By the Edict of King *Hunerick*, the cruel *Arian* Persecutor, the *African* Bishops were summon'd to defend their Doctrine by the Scriptures, in a publick dispute with the *Arian* Bishops; when this could not be avoided, under just apprehension of the consequence, a great number (near 400) met at *Carthage*, *An. 484.* a Confession of Faith was drawn up with great caution, and carefully examin'd, where this famous Text was particularly urged: Now, can it be imagin'd, that in such an Assembly, a Matter of such Moment, wherein several Bishops of great worth appear to be particularly concern'd, should be manag'd with so little discretion, as to lay so much stress upon a Text in *St. John's Epistle*, which was not there to be found, or was a late addition; which the *Arians* might so easily confute, and shew the Fraud of, to their confusion, already under hardships, and the greatest disadvantage? To say, *had the Dispute been held, the Text alledg'd, and the Answer by the other side related, it might give much light to the Matter*, is true; but reaches not the Argument, as urged by us: They were doubtless upon their guard, under terror, by the Banishment of several of their Brethren a little before, and by the death of *Letus*, noted among them for his Piety, that very day committed to the flames. However, the ten Bishops that were chosen to manage the dispute, presented themselves at the place appointed, but were rudely treated; and, when they began to speak, were, it seems, entertain'd with outeries, and blows too: But it was not upon this occasion that the Text first appear'd; for, besides its being quoted by *Ciprian* so long before, it was expressly cited by *Eucherius*, sometime Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, a matter of fifty Years before, as Mr. *Emlyn* confesses, and which he finds not any other way to evade, than by feigning, or fancying, it to be an Interpolation: And what Argument may

may not easily be eluded, if precarious and unproven suppositions, of that nature, will be taken for answer? It's still worthy of remark, that it appears not in those elder times to have any suspicion of Forgery cast upon it; but, wherever it appear'd, it has been look'd upon, as the genuine Writing of St. John. 'Tis in this latter Age, that the Anti-trinitarians, finding it necessary for their purpose, stick not to affirm, that it is supposititious. As for the Greek Manuscripts, upon which the Prints of the New Testament were form'd, though they at present appear not, whether mis-laid, or conceal'd, there appears no reason to doubt, that such there were, for which I need only refer to Dr. Mill, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Nelson's learned Friend.

We may now rather proceed to consider the sense and import of the Words. *I took notice*, says our Author, *that a great stress is laid by some upon the Word [έν]* *1 Jo. v. 7. and Jo. x. 30.* One, say these Men, that is, one Thing. * *I shewed there is no necessity of such an Interpretation, but that the same Expression is used, where it is not possible it should be render'd One thing. This, Mr. Moore could not answer, and therefore he prudently took no notice of it.* However prudent he might fancy this Sort of Reflection to be, I am at a loss for the Justice of it, when I not only took notice of it, but, as I apprehended, made a plain Answer. Whatever stress he suppos'd some to lay upon the Word [έν] in the Neuter Gender, he does not find me to lay any

* Dr. Clark observes, *Jo. x. 30.* our Saviour affirms, that He, and his Father, are not *ἓς* [not one Person; but *ἕι*] one and the same *Thing* in Effect, as to the exercise of Power. And *Tertullian*, and other Writers, commonly distinguish, that they are not [*unus*] one Person; but [*unum*] one and the same *Thing*. *Script. Doct. p. 2.* *Tertullian against Praxeas*, says, *Qui tres unum sunt, non unus; quomodo dictum est, Ego & Pater unum sumus, ad substantię unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.* Concluding, that the Father and Christ are *ἕι* unum, one *Thing*, that is, One in Substance.

such

such stress *barely* upon the Expression ; for I granted, that in 1 Cor. iii. 8. it signifies *One* in Consent and Design, and that the Phrase is to be interpreted according to the subject Matter, and Circumstances of the Place, where it is used. I deny'd it not the same Sense and Signification in this, which therefore he needed not to quote Beza for ; only observ'd, that this being suppos'd, yet something farther might be imply'd, yea, that something more seems plainly to be imply'd ; and that is, that the *Three* in Heaven do not only agree in their Testimony, but that there is a peculiar Reason and Ground for their so agreeing ; and this probably intimated and intended by the change of the Phrase, ver. 7. [εν εις] into [εις τὸ εἰς εἰς] ver. 8. where, of the latter *Three*, it could not be affirm'd, as of the *Three* in Heaven, that they are *One* in Nature, but only *One* in their Testimony ; and this, though the Complutensian Edition give not the same difference in the Phrase, as others, which might be an easy slip in the Copyer of that Manuscript. So that, though there be *no necessity*, that the Word [εἰς] do always signify *One Thing*, yet, that being the primary and more natural sense of the Expression, it is but reasonable to take in that signification, if nothing oblige to the contrary ; especially, if the Subject-matter and Circumstances direct and determine to it. Nor should we think it sufficient, in the interpretation of holy Scripture, to give such a sense, as a Phrase, by it self, may be capable of, though perhaps it may best suit our private Opinion, or serve our present purpose ; but what, upon just consideration, we take to be the real and intended Meaning.

It was farther argued, from John x. 30. *I and my Father are One* ; and John xvii. 11. 21. *That they may be One, as we are* ; the Word [εἰς] must be understood to signify and denote another kind of Oneness, than meerly in Consent and Design. When Christ prays,

prays, *John xvii. 22.* [ια δον εν, κατως ησης εν εσμεν] that they may be One, as we are One ; our Author asked, *And are we to think, that our Saviour desir'd his Disciples should be kept to be one Being ?* I reply'd, that the word [κατως] as, can denote here, (as *Mat. v. 48.* and many other Places) but a Similitude, or Resemblance, not Equality, or the same perfect Union : And so, when there appears a necessity of giving it this Sense, it ought to take place ; and when he can shew the same necessity for this Construction, that it can denote but a Similitude, *John v. 23.* it may be admitted : In the mean time, it is not sufficient to say, the *Word* may be taken so, when there is no necessity.

WHEN he says, *The two Unities, which, I think, are here compar'd (Jo. xvii. 21, 22.) appear to him to be things, that carry not in them any Resemblance at all ; for an Unity of Concord is entirely a different thing from an Unity of Being :* he seems to mistake my Meaning, or conceal the force of my Reason. He finds not, that I compar'd an Unity of Concord with an Unity of Being ; but, supposing that there is an Unity of Being among the divine Persons, an Unity of Concord is a necessary result of it.

I OBSERV'D, p. 29. that, even among Believers, there is more, than a bare Unity of Concord and Design, since they are animated and acted by one and the same Spirit, which is a reason of their agreeing in one Design. Now this Spiritual Unity among Believers, which infers Unity of Concord, resembles, or is a shadow of, the Union between the Father and Christ ; and so I added, this being possibly the nearest resemblance and similitude of it among Creatures, which hinders not, but rather implies, that Christ's Oneness with the Father is of an higher kind, of a more perfect and exalted Nature, than the Oneness among Christians. And indeed the things which are spoken of, as belonging to the Nature of God, cannot be ordinarily attributed to Creatures,

but

but in an analogical sense, and in way of Resemblance.

As for Dr. Whitby's interpreting the Glory, which Christ gave his Disciples, ver. 22. to signify the Power of working Miracles; that hinders not, but that there is to be acknowledg'd an higher and nearer Union among them: the same Doctor observing on ver. 20. that these words, *viz.* *that they may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee,* are to be interpreted, not of an Union of Concord, but by the participation of the Spirit of the Father and the Son, is proved. See Note on Chap. 14. 20, &c. which Note deserves to be consulted.

I TOOK notice of two Arguments from the Doctor, that Christ is One with the Father, in a distinguish'd sense, *viz.* One in Essence, not in Concord only. 1. From the Security of the Sheep in the hand of Christ, being One in Power with the Father, and therefore One in Essence, as Chrysostome says. 2. From the InfERENCE of the Jews, that by this he made himself God. He answers to the first, They may be *One in the exercise of their Power;* or farther, *as that Power, which our Saviour exercis'd, was really the Power of the Father.* But how he could exercise the Power of Omnipotence, which he says he was not really Possessor of, I cannot imagine. If he means only, that the Power, by which he wrought Miracles, was not properly his, but his Father's, empowering and enabling him; wherein did his Power differ from that of St. Peter, in the Miracles perform'd, except that he was vested with an higher Character and Office? Yet, how strange would it have look'd in St. Peter to have said, I, and my Father, or the God that gave me Commission, are one; the Works that he doth, I do also; that is, by his Power and Authority: whereas, *Acts iii. 12.* says he, *Why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by our own Power we had made this Man to walk?* But the Jews hence infer'd, *John x. 33.*

that

that he, being a Man, made himself God. Who could now imagine, but that if his Words had given no Umbrage, or occasion for the Inference, he would presently disclaim it with Indignation ; and shew, that he abhor'd the Thought ? That he would plainly have told them, you wretchedly mistake, and pervert my Words to an invidious Sense, which I never intended ; meaning only to say, I am One in concord with my Father ; agree in design with him ; the Power, that I seem to exercise, is his, and not my own ? Instead of clearly denying the Inference, as, it seems, in all Reason and Justice he ought, he first repels the charge of Blasphemy, either by shewing, that he was not obnoxious to their Law, by calling himself the Son of God, since others, of an inferiour rank, were called Gods ; or by an Argument from the less to the greater, († as the Doctor observes) ver. 35, 36. *If he called them Gods, unto whom the Word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken ; say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctify'd, and sent into the World, thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God ? q. d.* If they were called Gods, in a more improper, and in a typical Sense, who were some time employ'd as God's Messengers and Servants, and had some temporary Assurances of his Spirit ; can ye think me worthy of blame, as arrogating to my self an Honour, and a Power, that is not my due, when I tell you only the Truth, that I am, in reality, and in the most proper Sense, the *SON OF GOD*, who am come into the World upon the most glorious Design, according to my Father's Will, with the Power of the Spirit resting upon me without measure, and really dwelling in me ? And then farther adds, ver. 37, 38. *If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not, &c. q. d.* Wonder not that I said, *I am the Son of God, and that I and my Father are One*, when ye see me do those Works of Omnipotence, which shew, that I have the same Power

† See Whitby's Note on John x. 34, 35.

with the Father, that || what things soever he doth, these also doth the Son likewise.

2. THE second Argument for Christ's Divinity, which our Author took notice of, is, that *He is expressly call'd God in several Places of Scripture*: And he is pleas'd to suggest, that *I went over very superficialy what was offer'd in the Letter on this Head*. Some weak Readers may possibly take this upon trust, but I am persuaded, on a review, the more judicious will find little reason for such a Remark. That others, *beside the supreme God, are sometime call'd God, upon the account of their special Dignity and Authority*, as he speaks, which is the Sum of the plausible reasoning of the Letter, need not be disputed. Nor is it deny'd, that Angels and Magistrates, in a popular and more improper way of speaking, or, in a figurative Sense, have been stiled Gods, on the account of some distant Resemblance, some partial Representation, or some Characters of Respect put upon them by him, who yet, in the compleat Idea and proper Sense, is the only true God. But now the Characters of Divinity are every where ascrib'd and challeng'd to the Blessed Jesus, in quite another manner, than to such, otherwise call'd Gods. Yea, says he, *as Christ is transcendently above all Angels and Governours, he may have this Title in a more eminent Sense*. But I take not the question to be, whether *Christ has an higher Right to this Title, than others*, as he expresses it; whether 'tis given him in an higher or lower Sense; but whether it is given him properly, and in the just latitude of the Idea? Otherwise, tho' he may, as others by a Figure, or by way of Allusion, be call'd God, he may be far enough from being truly so.

WE farther urge, that as the Name and Title of God is frequently given to him, which in but a few

Instances is given to Creatures ; so 'tis given without limitation, or any Circumstances that should determine it to a figurative Sense : whereas it is not apply'd to any others, but in such a manner, as manifestly to prevent danger of mistake. Nor will any body be at a loss, when Moses is *said to be a God to Pharaoh; ye are Gods, but shall die like Men,* &c. how to interpret the Expression, without supposing the great God to be intended, or others to be set up as Objects of Divine Worship. But our Author is not content only to say, *the Name is given to Creatures many times in the Scriptures, perhaps as many as it is to Christ;* but ventures roundly to affirm, *there is as much limitation, with reference to Christ, to prevent our apprehending him to be the supreme God,* as there is *with reference to any others.* That this should be spoken with so little Hesitation, with so little Guard and Decency, may seem somewhat strange and shocking to such as do but consider, (1.) That no other Proof is here offer'd for this, but saying, *The whole Scripture is a limitation, which determines, that there is but one God, and that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is he:* whereas this is no other than a begging the thing in question, that Christ must be excluded from Deity, because the Father is God ; when his being call'd God's *OWN SON*, in such a peculiar and appropriate Sense, plainly distinguishes him from all others, and is far enough from being *as much limitation as there is to any others;* when the Jews knew not how else to understand his saying, that God was his *own Father,* but as making himself equal with God, *John v. 18.* when his being the Son of the living God, is wont to be made an Argument of his Deity, instead of being taken as a *Limitation* excluding him from it *as much as any others.* (2.) That the *Name of God (and Jehovah)* is so far from being given to *Creatures as many times as to Christ,* that *perhaps* it appears not at all to be given to any of them,

in such a Manner, as to Christ, but that there is some special Mark of Distinction : And that besides his having the Name of God given him, divine Perfections are ascrib'd to him in Scripture, and peculiar Marks of Divinity, which set him above the Rank of Creatures. (3.) That instead of designing *as much Limitation with reference to Christ, to prevent our apprehending him to be the supreme God, as to any others,* the Scriptures manifestly set him up, as the Object of our Devotion and religious Worship, and demand our Adoration and Services for him, which they expressly forbid to be paid to any others, which sets him at an utter distance from any others, that, in an improper Sense, may be call'd Gods, under this Limitation, Worship them not ; worship God. (4.) That the common Sentiment and *Apprehension* of Christians, in this Matter, are very different from his, who, after serious Enquiry, and diligent Examination of Scripture, unable to find such Limitation, have still apprehended and believ'd, that Christ is there call'd God, in the strict and proper sense of the Word, and so as no others are.

THAT Christ Jesus doth so indifferently assume, and hath so often given him the Title of *L O R D J E H O V A H*, (God's peculiar Name, as *Psalm lxxxiii. 18.* which the LXXII's Translation opposes not) our Author tells us, *need not give any Disturbance; for it is not unusual in the Scripture for one Person, when he represents another, to assume the Stile and Title of that other.* But I am at a loss for a just Instance of this Nature. For a Messenger to speak, in the Name of him that sent him, the Words that he had put into his Mouth, is a very different thing from assuming the proper Title and Stile of that other. And I much doubt, whether the Scripture, or any good Writer, has any Example of this kind ; and i suppose it not allowable for a Judge, acting in the King's Name, and by his Commission, or for an Ambassador, to say,

say, I am *George*, King of *Great Britain, &c.* He that appear'd on *Sinai*, said, *I am the L O R D T H Y G O D*; *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.* If Christ *Jesuſ*, in quality of his Father's Representative, might say, *I am J E H O V A H*, thy God, why not also, *I am G O D* the Father? Dr. *Whitby* seems well to have clear'd this Matter, on *John i. 1.* whence **I** took notice of his Observation as just, (which **I** had not only my self made before, but found it observ'd by the antient Writer † *Irenæus*) 'that nothing is absolutely in the Scripture, and in the Singular Number, call'd God, for any other Reason, than that the divine Nature is imparted to it.' Which happen'd, it seems, so much to shock our Author's temper, as made him forget the common measures of Prudence, as well as Justice in the temerity of his Censure. He is pleas'd to say, *The Doctor is not guilty of so great an Absurdity, and he has wrong cited him in several respects, unless he uses a different Edition from mine.* *The word absolutely is not used by the Doctor, but is an Addition of the Calm Defender's.* *The Doctor talks of the New Testament only, and, instead of that, our Author makes him speak of the Scriptures in general.* — *The word God is certainly used in the singular Number therein (in the New Testament) for such as were not properly God;* 2 Cor. iv. 4. 2 Thes. ii. 4. Acts xii. 22. Finally, those Words, that hath not the Divine Nature imparted to it, are not the Doctor's, and I cannot but wonder at our Author's using them. Has Christ, according to his Opinion, the Divine Nature imparted to him? &c. Certainly our Author did not consider here what he wrote. What may not be expected from his Candour, who appears so willing to take an Advantage? What if he had not the second Edition

† Néque igitur Dominus, néque Spiritus Sanctus, néque Apostoli, eum qui non esset Deus, definitivè & absolute Deum nominassent aliquando, nisi esset verus Deus. *Irena. lib. 3. chap. 6.*

of the Doctor before him, whence I made the Quotation, but the first, as he says, p. or the Page had happen'd to be mistaken ; it had been but just and reasonable in him to consult the other Edition, before he had charged me directly with so many Falsities, and suppress'd *evil Surmisings*, till he had the patience to examine. However, after all, there stand the Words in the Doctor, and in the Page, just as I quoted them ; and I find them to be the same, even in this Edition, only a little before in the preceding Page, and in the Reader's View. But I shall forbear to return the civility of his Compliments, and to say, '*Tis below a Man of Honour and Conscience.* Certainly this Author did not consider what he wrote. Yet I suppose his Readers upon this, will hardly be so credulous and supine, as to take his Quotations and confident Assertions upon trust, and without Examination.

As for the *Absurdity* charg'd upon the Observation, no Shadow of it appears from the Scriptures he mentions. 2 Cor. iv. 4. *The God of this World.* 2 Thes. ii. 4. *The Man of Sin,* — shewing himself that he is God. Acts xii. 22. *It is the Voice of a God, and not of a Man.* For, though the word God be there in the singular Number, it is neither used absolutely, nor in such Circumstances, as to leave the least room for danger of misapplying it. Nor am I concern'd in his reasoning about having the *Divine Nature imparted to it.* As the Expression was the Doctor's, I took not the liberty to alter it, understanding by it, what, if I had express'd in my own Words, would have been, That none in the Scripture is absolutely, and in the singular Number, call'd God, who has not, or is not Partaker of, the Divine Nature.

He proceeds to argue from John i. 1. *The Word was with God, and the Word was God.* Now, says he, and is not that God, who was the Word, plainly distinguish'd from the God, with whom, in the Beginning, he was ? Was God the Word the same with him, with whom he was ?

was ? and complains, that I took notice only of the latter Query, which was for no other reason, but because I took them to be both of the same Import, or at least imply'd and refer'd to in the Answer I made. And why may he not be the same in one respect, and yet differ in another ? So God, the Word, may be *plainly distinguish'd* from the God, with whom he was, not in respect of Nature and Deity, but as a distinct Person. And who pretends, that the Son is the same Person with the Father ? He insists, *the same numerical Being cannot differ from itself*; if therefore the one Respect be that of his Essence, he cannot differ from him in any Respect: which seems to be but playing with a Word, or taking the thing for granted, which should be prov'd, and then arguing from that Supposition. If by the same *numerical Being*, he will needs understand the same Person, it cannot differ from it self; but if by *Being*, the Nature and Essence of God be denoted, how does he know, that there cannot be more Persons, than One, in it, that may differ from each other ? except he has such an exact Measure and perfect Knowledge of the incomprehensible Nature of God, as to be able securely to define, what is possible, or not possible to be found in it. *A Man*, says he, *may distinguish the several Attributes of the same Being in his Thoughts*; but he cannot suppose the same Being to be the Subject and not the Subject of the same Attributes. For my part, I know not any body that makes such a Supposition ; but can, in my Thoughts, easily distinguish the Attributes and Perfections of the Divine Nature, from those Differences therein, which the Scripture speaks of, under the notion of distinct Persons. He adds, 'Tis impossible, that the same Essence should be both begotten and unbegotten. But why may not the Father beget the Son in the same Essence ? However, the manner of Generation, or of the Father's begetting the Son, is not the subject of our Debate ; nor am I any more concern'd

to explain or account for it, than he, whose own Scheme likewise acknowledges, p. 19. the Son's *being derived from the Father, in an ineffable Manner.* As for his saying, he *has no notion of a distinct Person, that does not imply a distinct Being;* I have spoken before so distinctly of this Matter, as may supersede farther Discourse about it in this Place.

I HAD said, Why may we not suppose, that his Godhead was the same with that of his Father, tho' he was in some sense different from him, who in order of Subsistence, and in way of Distinction, bears the Name of God, and the Father? And what have I herein advanced that is new, that is shocking to the Reason of Mankind, or disagreeing to the common Faith of Christians? What, that is not generally taught, and receiv'd, as plainly revealed in the Scriptures? Whence then the sudden (not to say unmanly) Outcry? *Is this the Christian Religion?* *Is this the Doctrine of the Gospel?* *Is this a fundamental Article of our Faith?* &c. It might perhaps be thought popular and moving, and make some impression on weak Minds, how little soever I am concern'd in it. For after all, it appears clear in Revelation, of great and diffusive Influence in Christian Religion, that there is but one God, that Jesus Christ is God, that he and the Father are spoken of as different Persons.

BUT our Author thinks it for his Purpose to repeat a few more Queries, which the Letter put upon this Text in John, which he pretends Mr. Moore had not vouchsafed to answer; though I thought 'em sufficiently answer'd, as far as there was any occasion. However I'll gratify his Importunity. Says he, *Does the Evangelist design to tell us, That the Word was with himself?* Ans. No. *Who ever talks after that rate?* Nobody that I know. *Why was not the Expression, And the Word was with God, entirely left out?* Because it was incongruous to his Design, and he hereby fitly expressed

pressed the Distinction between the Father and the Son. Does it add any thing to the Sense, provided the next Expression is thus to be understood, And the Word was the supreme God? Yes, a great deal, to assure us, that the Father and Word, however distinct in another respect, are yet one and the same God. Whatever the Meaning is, of being with God, according to these Men, was it possible that he should be otherwise than with him, if he had the same individual Essence with him? Ans. No, by no means. Since he thinks these Queries of so much weight, as to repeat, and inculcate them, I was unwilling again to pass them without plain and categorical Answers.

THE other Text which he alledg'd against Christ's being God, in the strict Sense, tho' he be called God, is *Psal. xlvi. 7.* cited *Heb. i. 8, 9.* Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; God, thy God, hath anointed thee, &c. adding, Can he be the Supreme God, who has one to be a God to him, and to bestow a Reward upon him? Then says, Mr. Moore's Answer here is exceeding superficial. As if Christ was not to be considered as a complex Subject, of whom some things are evidently spoken with reference to his divine Person, others with respect to his human Nature, and others that directly concern his Office as Mediator. Which, if well weighed, and compared with what he has offered to invalidate it, will appear not so superficial, as he would have it thought. The Observation I take to be just, of necessary Use and Application in several Cases. It is so with respect to Man, that is also a complex Subject. If a Person be affirmed to be of such a Bulk, or Weight, or Tallness, 'tis plainly meant of his Body: If he be said to perceive, to understand, to be conscious, 'tis supposed to be intended of his intelligent Mind. Such Expressions are commonly allow'd and understood; nor is there much danger of any one's imagining hence, that Thought belongs to him

in reference to his Body, or Gravity to his Soul. A Man may be also considered under the Notion of an Husband, or in Quality of a Magistrate, and be the Subject of very different Predications, with respect to those different Characters and Relations : And what is spoken in reference to one, may sometimes not be truly said of him, in reference to the other , nor is there in such Cases much Danger of Mistake. Who sees not, that some things may be spoken of our Saviour, as he is Man, as he is the Messiah, or as vested with the Office of Mediator, which belong not to him merely as God ? Why may he not in such a Capacity and Condition, have his Father *to be a God to him*, and receive *a Reward from him*, without Impeachment of his Divinity ? With this plain Distinction we may securely attend our Author's Reasoning, remembering that the thing which he labours to prove, is, That the Son is a different God from the Father ; that tho' he be called God, yet he is not the supreme God. But *why*, says he, *should the Father be our Saviour's God* ? I answer ; Considered as Man and Mediator, he acts by his Authority, and receives the promised Reward from him for his Service. *Why is Christ's divine Nature never called the God of his human Nature* ? As the Scripture has not the Expression, so I can find no Sense in it, that the Deity should be the God of the Humanity. *How will he answer what is alleg'd in the Letter, that the Head of Christ, this complex Person is God* ? As Christ is Man and Mediator, he is subject to the Father. A Man may measure the Height of the complex Person, called *James*, without taking the Dimensions of his Mind. Thus upon my Principles our Saviour may be justified, in saying, My Father is greater than I. But to say the I does not mean his complex Person, is absurd, and opens a Gap for Equivocations : No more than to say, My Neighbour is greater than I ; meaning

meaning, in respect of bodily Stature, or Dignity of Office, without intending to affirm, that he is of a different, or more excellent Nature. *So a Man may be justified in saying, a Child is greater than himself, meaning than his little Finger.* Ans. Not unlikely, if his little Finger were himself. And methinks there is a wide Difference between the Man Christ's saying, I am greater than myself; which is no way allowable in Propriety of Speech; and his saying, *My Father is greater than I.*

BUT farther, as to that Text (which indeed 'tis time to consider) *Christ is there spoken of as God.* But this is the thing in question, and which we expected the Proof of. That he is there stiled God, and acknowledg'd to be truly so, is not questioned; but whether he be spoken of precisely under that Consideration, and not rather as Messiah and Mediator, acting under that Character, and as vested with that Office: And while this is here so plainly signified, in that he is said to be anointed, &c. this Scripture is far enough from leading us into a dangerous Error, by speaking in an unguarded manner. Nor is there much more danger of Mistake, under such a Limitation, and in such Circumstances, tho' the Words were render'd, *O God, thy God hath anointed thee:* which therefore, *the follow'd by the French, Dutch, Tremellius, and * Beza,* yet without their favouring, or going into our Author's Sense. The truth is, whatever the Hebrew may be thought to bear, the proper and grammatical rendring is, *God, thy God;* and so 'tis rendred by the Septuagint, Syriack, and vulgar Latin; by Arias Montanus, our Translation, the Italian at Geneva, the Spanish, &c. And as there appears not the least Necessity for the other rendring,

* Former Edit. of Beza, Fol. As the Camb. Edit. Fol. Anno 1642. have it as we render, *God thy God.* So Tremellius's Translation of the Syr. New Testament.

so it is not countenanc'd by any old Translation. If, however, it should be admitted, (which I see little reason for) that Christ is here spoken of as God, as Dr. Whitby notes upon the Place, that he is God of God, according to the Nicene Symbol, it may signify only his Subordination, as Son; not any Inferiority of Nature: Nor can any more be inferr'd, than that he is the Son of the Father, who is the first in Order among the divine Persons, consecrated by him to the Office of Mediator; not that the Father is a different and an higher God.

I TOOK notice, that even in the same Place, as there is occasion, some things are ascribed to Christ under one Consideration and Character, and some under another. Our Saviour's Question to the Pharisees, Mat. xxii. 45. *If David call him Lord, how is he then his Son?* shows this. It may be thus here intimated, that he has a Throne and Dominion, as God by nature; which is for ever and ever, different from his Mediatorial Kingdom, which he is shortly to resign. And why this *may not be*, as I suggested, I find not our Author to offer any cogent Reason. Only he would have me to produce the Places of Scripture, where this Doctrine is plainly and clearly expressed; adding, his Argument from this Text will not prove it. But this was not the thing I was upon, or the Matter of Debate, but incidental only, and what it was sufficient for my purpose barely to suggest. Yet it need not seem strange or unreasonable to suppose, that He who in the Beginning was God (which we are sometimes told is a Title of Office, and signifies Dominion) had, antecedently to his Death and Exaltation, the Right of Dominion over the things created by him, and for him; by whom they do consist, and who upholdeth all things by the Word of his Power, Heb. i. 3. Than which, what can be spoken more magnificently of the Almighty? He who made the World may be thought

to

to govern it. Who will not take the Right of Creator and Preserver to be different from that which results only from an arbitrary *Grant*? He thinks the *Observation might have been spared, if the Scope of the Apostle had been consider'd; which was to prove, that Christ had obtained by Inheritance a more excellent Name than the Angels; and therefore is made so much better than they, ver. 4.* As if the Inheritance might not come by natural Right, as well as Gift. What hinders, but that he, who was Heir by Nature, and by Creation, might be particularly declar'd such upon special occasion; and, upon Performance of the Work he undertook, as Mediator, have a Name given him, above every Name? However, though I suggested, that this possibly might be intimated, which I was under no necessity to prove, I deny'd not, that the Dominion here mention'd might be meant of his Mediatorial Kingdom, which he has by the Father's Grant, and is to be resign'd at the last Day. But then I am so far from apprehending it inconsistent with Christ's Deity, that I see not how he would be capable of such a Throne and Dominion, except he be God, as well as Man.

THE next Argument the Letter proposes to answer, is *Rom. ix. 5. Who is over all, GOD blessed for ever.* And says, *the Apostle's Words will serve for a full Reply, 1 Cor. xv. 27. When he saith, All Things are put under him, it is manifest, that he is excepted, who did put all Things under him.* This possibly might pass with him for a Shift and Evasion, to whom it * must be necessary so to explain any particular Passage, as to make it consistent with the Opinion he has undertaken to maintain, and will suppose to be according to the Tenour of the Gospel. It is a Satisfaction to find, that the common Faith labours not under the necessity of treating the Holy Scripture in this manner, of ex-

* Pl. Chr. p. 35.

plaining away the obvious and apparent Sense, and forcing it into some specious Consistency. No doubt but he is excepted, who did put all Things under him ; nor does any body pretend, that the Son is over the Father, or that the Father is put under him ; yet that hinders not, but that the plain Characters of Deity are in this Text apply'd to Jesus Christ. To say, that then there are two absolute supreme Beings, is to obtrude a Consequence, which we utterly disown, and have plainly discover'd to be groundless and unjust.

Our Author indeed thinks, *there is no great Difficulty in allowing the Term God to be given to him.* A wonderful Concession ! when he makes no Scruple to allow it to Creatures, even of an inferior rank. But, after all, he has not been able, that I can find, to alledge any Text, where the word God is absolutely, and in the singular Number, apply'd to any other, but the Almighty.

The asserting him to be over all, says he, is agreeable to the Scriptures, which every where attribute this to the Gift of the Father : yet neither does this Text say, nor can he produce any other, that says, he is God over all, by the Gift of the Father. That this is the proper Character of the supreme God, *Ephes.* iv. 6. himself will confess ; but in what Scripture (not to say Christian, or so much as Gentile Writer) does he find the Title [ο επιτελος, God over all] used to denote a God of an inferior Rank, or any other than the most High ? unless he may be allow'd to understand it thus in this Text, which is more than will be easily granted.

No R does he quote any Place in the New Testament, where [ιαογιας, blessed] is ascribed to any other, but the supreme God : The Appellation appears to be appropriate to him, not only in the common Language of the Jewish Nation, and almost all Antiquity, (if we may believe * Mr. Whiston) but directly

* Prim. Faith, p. 7.

and expresly, *Mark* xiv. 61. *Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?* And though among a great Number of Places, where [ברוך] is by the Septuagint render'd [εὐλογητός] there be five mention'd by our Author, *Gen.* xxiv. 31. *Deut.* vii. 14. *Ruth* ii. 20. *I Sam.* xv. 13. *Chap.* xxv. 33. (for in the sixth, *Gen.* xxvi. 29. the word is εὐλογεῖσθαι) in which the word is not appropriated to the Blessed God; yet even there [εὐλογητός] is not used absolutely, as in the Text: nor do I see it any where so used in the Scripture, but as apply'd peculiarly to him; much less as it is here, * *blessed for ever.* Nevertheles, though this, or the other *Word*, or *Phrase*, singly and apart shou'd be found capable of some other Sense, or Meaning, (a method of interpreting Scripture too often attempted to elude the Force of *any particular Passage*, that stands in the way) yet these Expressions together, in conjunction, seem not capable of being apply'd to any other, but the supreme God. The Evidence of this is so full and glaring, as to induce not only Mr. *Whiston*, and most of the *Arians* and *Socinians*, in favour of their darling Opinions, but our Author also, to take refuge in an odd and precarious rendring of the Words, by way of Doxology to the Father: whereas he had before freely own'd, what *Socinus* also could not but confess, that the Words were spoken of Jesus Christ. He was particularly press'd, and concluded, by the Observation, (a Difficulty which our Author is prepar'd to break thorough, to make it consistent with his Scheme) that [Ἄδει εὐαγγέλιος] *God be blessed*, is such an unusual and unnatural

* The constant Epithet and Periphrasis of the great God (says Dr. *Whitby* in *loc.*) in the Old Testament; *I Chron.* xvi. 36. *Psalm* xli. 13. and lxxxix. 52. and also in the New. This was so evident to *Enyediinus*, the *Socinian*, that he saith, this Epithet is so peculiar to God the Father, that it is never attributed in the New Testament to any other; but wheresoever we find this Phrase, *God blessed for ever*, it is always ascribed to the Father.

Expression, as is not to be admitted. And as in the New Testament, the certain and constant manner of expressing the Doxology, *blessed be God*, is by setting [εὐλογητός] *blessed*, before *God*; *Luke i. 68.* *2 Cor. i. 3.* *Eph. i. 3.* *1 Pet. i. 3.* so 'tis also in the LXXII's Translation of the Old Testament : though the Expression occurs in a great number of Places, yet I find not so much as one, where this order is not observ'd. Besides, the other Circumstances of the Text do so manifestly determine the application to Christ, that, upon the whole, neither the Orthodox nor *Arians* appear heretofore to have fix'd on this novel Device, and method of Construction.

WHEREAS I observ'd, that the Expression, *blessed for evermore*, manifestly denotes, in the New Testament, the most high God, and is apply'd to him, *Rom. i. 25.* as distinguish'd from all Creatures whatsoever ; our Author says, that in *2 Cor. xi. 31.* 'tis apply'd to *God*, as distinguish'd from our *Lord Jesus Christ*, which I utterly deny in the Sense I intended, and must be suppos'd to intend, as the meaning of the Text : for, though in the latter Place the Father, under the Character and Relation of a Father, be distinguish'd from Christ ; yet not so, as in the former, where, by the Character of *blessed for ever*, God is consider'd apart from, and stands in opposition to, Creatures : but it is not under this Consideration, that the Father is distinguish'd from Christ.

THAT we must conclude, from these exalted and distinguishing Titles, so freely given to Jesus Christ, that he is God in the strict and proper Sense, I see no reason yet to doubt, while we rest content with plain *Revelation*. And as we need not puzzle our Minds about unrevealed things, or insist on bold and unnecessary Explications ; so nor be much concern'd at our Author's disregarding the Distinction between personal Properties and Characters, belonging to the Nature of God, till he can prove an Inconsistency. *Theophylact's*

phylact's Remark, that hence *Arius* is confuted, and put to shame, St. *Paul* proclaiming Christ to be God over all, is not less just for his living in the eleventh Century: Nor did I give it from Dr. Whitby, as he confidently affirms; but for him farther to suggest, that I quoted not the Doctor right, saying,
 ' From the Beginning these Words have been used
 ' by the Fathers, as an Argument of Christ's Di-
 ' vinity, ' * is methinks too bold an Attempt upon his Reader's patience; particularly, when he adds, *I*
hardly believe Dr. Whitby so injudicious, as to suppose All the Fathers from the Beginning used this as an Argument: whereas neither I, nor the Doctor, used the Word *All*. And yet, how many he quotes in his Annotations on this Text, even before the *Nicene Council*, following the learned Dr. *Bull*, || is very remarkable;
 ' † None ever saying, that any did then actually ascribe them (the things here spoken of Christ) to any other Person. |||| As for us, who do in earnest believe the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, let us take all our Doctrines and Opinions from those clear Fountains of Truth, not disturb'd and darkned by searching anxiously into all the possible Senses, that the several Words and Expressions of Scripture can bear, and by forcing that Sense upon them, which is most remote and unnatural, and, in the mean time, wilfully overlooking and passing by that Sense, which is most obvious and easy to the common Apprehension of any unbias'd and impartial Reader.'

(4.) T H E next thing our Author took notice of, as alledg'd in proof of the Deity of Christ, is, that the Creation of the World is ascrib'd to him. And we cannot but esteem it of great weight, since 'tis done so frequently, and in the strongest Terms. Who

* Dr. *Whitby* in loc. Vol. 2. p. 53. 2 Edit. p. 52 pr. Edit.

|| *Bull.* Defen. Fid. *Nic.* p. 128. † Dr. *Whitby* in loc. as above.

|||| *Archbishop Tillotson*, fol. p. 549.

can forbear concluding, that || *the invisible Things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen by the Things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead?* What plainer and more convincing Evidence, what more illustrious Notices can we have, of the divine Being and Perfections, than the Works of Creation and Providence, which bear the most sensible marks of Omnipotence and unerring Wisdom? Now since * *in the Beginning was the Word, since the World was made by him, and without him was not any Thing made, that was made;* why may we not with Assurance infer, that *the Word is God, or that in the Beginning he was God?* Must we not consider him, as the proper Object of our Adoration, as worthy of our Homage, when we deriv'd our Beings immediately from him, and he does still † *uphold us, and all Things by the Word of his Power?* Can we think our selves excus'd from the Submission and Acknowledgements of Creatures, by being told, that he created, and doth sustain all Things, only by a *derived Power*, as the Instrument of a superior Being? Did the Scripture any where tells us of an Instrument in Creation, or Philosophy instruct us in the Nature and Operation of it, we need not be at a loss to conceive, what now seems to pass all Understanding.

As for Christ's acting by a derived and delegated Power, if hereby is meant only, that the Operation was properly and immediately the Father's, in virtue of which the World was produc'd, as the Miracles wrought by the Apostles, wherein their Faith and Prayer might be concern'd, but not their Power properly employ'd or exerted; then any Angel, or meer Man, might be such an Instrument. But if Christ was the immediate Subject of the Power, and really possess'd of Omnipotence, no less being necessary for the creating of the World, in the com-

|| Rom. i. 20.

* John i. 1. iii. 10. † Heb. i. 3.

mon Opinion of Jews and Heathens as well as Christians, I see not but Deity must belong to him in the truest Sense; the thing we are pleading for. Nor need we look for an higher Power, or worship another and an higher God, than him, who by an inherent Virtue in himself made the Heavens and the Earth, and all things in them. Nor can the most High give us a greater and better Proof of his Existence, of his Eternal Power and Godhead, or demand our Homage upon a better Right, than that of Creation. It is by this that he has been known and rever'd in the World. * *Thou, even thou art Lord alone, thou hast made Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens, with all their Host, the Earth, and all things that are therein.—And thou preservest them all, and the Host of Heaven worshippeth thee. Thou art the JEHOVAH.* I thought it then reasonable to ask, Whether an infinite Power can be deriv'd or imparted, except the Divine Nature, to which it seems inseparably to belong, be communicated? To which he replies, *And is not this a wise Question? Must not our Author by the Divine Nature here necessarily mean the individual Nature of him that communicates it? And is it not a flat Contradiction to say, that any one does communicate his own individual Nature?* As wise as the Question is, I see he cares not to answer it, but quibbles, and seeks to raise a Dust about the words *individual* and *communicate*, to cloud the Sense, and divert the Reader's Attention. He knows well enough, that we take not the Son to be the same individual Person with the Father, and yet Partaker with him of the same undivided Godhead; in which he finds it not so easy to prove any Inconsistency or Contradiction. And whether infinite Power do not inseparably belong to the Divine Nature, is still a question; whether it can be communicated any more than Self-

* Neh. 9. 6, 7. Isa. 37. 16.

Existence, or any other Property of the Divine Nature ; or whether any can be the Subject of it, that has not the Divine Nature.

THAT God made the World immediately (says he) is not said in the Scripture ; nor do I find it said in Scripture, what he is so fond of saying, that the Son did create by a Power derived from the Father. Yet such Expressions are used, as in the plain and obvious Meaning seem to import no less, than that God made the World immediately. * *I am the Lord that maketh ALL things, that stretcheth forth the Heavens ALONE, that spreadeth abroad the Earth BY MY SELF.* † *Which ALONE spreadeth out the Heavens.* || *He commanded, and it was done.* ** *He said, Let there be Light, and there was Light.* No appearance of room for an Instrument, no intimation of any such thing. He did it by himself ; yet he was not so alone in the Beginning, but the Word was then with God, and without him was not any thing made that was made. |||| *The Lord possessed me in the Beginning of his Way, before his Works of old. When he prepared the Heavens, I was there ; when he appointed the Foundations of the Earth, then I was by him.*

BUT, says our Author, Mr. Moore acts very prudently in passing by the Texts I urged, Heb. 1. 2. By whom also he made the Worlds ; Eph. 3. 9. where God is said to make all things, &c, by Christ. The truth is, I thought I had in short given a sufficient Answer ; yet refuse not a little farther to clear the Matter. Since he argued from the Force of the Preposition [δι] with a genitive Case, I reply'd, If it be said that [δι αὐτοῦ] implies his acting only by a delegated Power, 'tis known, and cannot be deny'd, that the same Expression is used with respect to the Supreme God, Rom. 11. 36. He supposes I cited Col. 1. 16.

* Isa. 44. 24.

† Job 9. 8. || Psal. 33. 9.

** Gen. 1. 3.

|||| Prov. 8. 22, 27, 29, 30.

where the Expression is, [ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξίστη τὰ πάντα] By him were all things created; but I refer'd to Jo. 1. 3, 10. [πάντα διὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο] All things were made by him. Compare this with Psal. 33. 6. By the Word of the Lord [τῷ λόγῳ τῷ κυρίῳ] were the Heavens made, Heb. 11. 3. The Worlds were made by the Word of God, [ὁ μακρὸς δῆλος.] As these latter Expressions seem to signify Creation, perform'd properly by the Word, without the least notice of Instrumentality; so in Rom. 11. 36. Of him, and by him [εἰς αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ αὐτοῦ] are all things. Heb. 2. 10. For whom are all things, and by whom are all things, [διὰ τὸ πάντα καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντα] the Preposition [διὰ] manifestly denotes, or relates to, the principal Cause. Thus also, Rom. 6. 4. Christ was raised by the Glory of the Father, [διὰ τὴς δόξης] or, by his glorious Power, Eph. 1. 19. * Dr. Whitby, speaking of the Expression, Heb. 1. 2. By whom he made the Worlds, affirms that the Greek Fathers unanimously say, [τοῖς θυλασσικοῖς & δεῖπνοις] this shews the Divinity of Christ. † Athenagoras (in the second Century) uses [πρὸς] as well as [διὰ] in reference to the Son's Operation, [πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἐνδιαφέροντα πάντας καὶ τὰς, &c.] ‘ Of or from him, and by him, were all things made, the Father and Son being One, the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son.’

I am at a loss to understand our Author, when he says farther; Now, if he would speak home to the purpose, and make a Parallel between God and Christ, he must search for some place, where Christ is said to have created all things by the Father; for upon that the Stress of the Argument lies. For I was not making a Parallel between God and Christ; but shewing that Christ is God, and that it is no prejudice to his Divinity, that in the Business of the Creation, the word [διὰ]

* In loc. p. 510. 2 Edit.

† P. 38. Edit. Ox.

by, is used of him, it being also used with respect to the Father's Operation: nor was there any occasion I should attempt (so odd a thing as) to invert the Order among the Divine Persons; or suppose that Christ is not truly God, or his Deity not proved by his creating all things, except he made them by the Father. That * *God made the Earth by his Power, and established the World by his Wisdom*, we may securely believe, without supposing his Word, his Wisdom, his Power, to be Instruments or inferiour Agents, by Nature different from himself. Creation being the joint Work of Father and Son, whose Power and Wisdom do not really differ, infers not any other Subordination, but that of Order. As to what he refers me to, in answer to *Arius detected*, Part 1. p. 14, 15, 16. I can find nothing there, but what is here clearly answered.

I observ'd as very remarkable, that the inspir'd Writer to the *Hebrews* does, Chap. 1. 10. without Difficulty or Hesitation, without any Explication to limit or qualify the Sense, apply directly to Christ, what *Psal. cii.* is confessedly address'd to the Supreme God: *And thou, Lord, in the Beginning hast laid the Foundation of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy hands; they shall perish, but thou remainest, &c.* And our Author confesses, that the Argument has not been fully answered. He is not ignorant that various Arts have been tryed to elude the Force of it, that both *Socinians* and *Arians* have used all their skill, and taken a great deal of Pains, to avoid it. How unhappy, that they never lighted on the Hint he lately received? But to abate Mens Triumphs from this Text, and prepare the way to the novel Interpretation, that they are henceforth to receive, he desires the Reader to observe, that 'tis not easy for us, in some Cases, to

* Jer. x. 12.

account for the Manner in which the Writers of the New Testament do cite Passages from the Old. Suppose this should be true, we cannot hence infer or imagine, that they did mistake in their Citations, that they did misapply them, or turn them to a Sense which was not intended. He instances in *Hosea xi. 1.* *And called my Son out of Egypt.* Let a Man read, says he, what follows there, and he will be apt to think, that *Israel* is to be understood in the common Sense, &c. If this also be allow'd, yet it hinders not, but the Passage is justly apply'd to Christ. Will any Man now be so absurd, as upon this account to argue, that the Children of Israel were the Christ? No, doubtless; the Absurdity is too manifest for any body to fall into it, and the thing related is certainly true, both with respect to *Israel* and Christ, that God brought the one and the other out of *Egypt*. Whether therefore this be spoken only of Christ, or rather also perhaps of *Israel*, as a Type of him, the Application is both right and safe. *Israel* and *David* were Types of Christ, and therefore 'tis not unusual for Christ to bear the Name of each in the Old Testament: *Isa. xlix. 3.* *Ezek. xxxiv. 23.* * *Jerom* observ'd in reference to this Passage, *Ea quæ τυποῖς præcedunt in aliis, juxta veritatem & adimpletionem referuntur ad Christum.* Such things as were typically before fulfilled in others, may in respect of the Truth, and perfect Completion, be referred to Christ. Yet he would have it thought, That the Argument may be made as strong for that, as mine is in the present Case; for that the words in *Psal. cii.* do not appear more plainly to be spoken of the Supreme God, than the other do of the Children of Israel. Whereas there is not the least Ground for this. Certainly, the words are not spoken typically of God, to have their full Accomplishment in Christ; and if

* Pocock in loc.

they belong peculiarly to the Supreme God, how can they be safely apply'd to Christ, unless he be acknowledg'd and consider'd as such? *Grotius*, who see ed willing to favour the *Socinians* in the Interpretation of this Place, supposes that the Apostle does accommodate unto the Messiah what was spoken of God, and thinks it a sufficient Argument to prove that the Words were not spoken of the Messiah, because they were spoken of God. And the *Socinian* Commentator observes, All the Words of the *Psalm* being manifestly spoken of the High God, and no word in the *Psalm* declaring Christ to be that God, of necessity, if these Words be apply'd unto Christ, he must be supposed to be the High God spoken of.

THE first Remark our Author makes as necessary to his intended Exposition, is, *That the Writer of the Epistle is to be understood all along from the fifth Verse to the end of the Chapter, to cite the Words of the Old Testament, as the Words of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*; and adds, *How evident is this?* But this is so far from being evident to me, that it seems not to be true, or to hold any farther than in the fifth, sixth, and thirteenth Verses. *He saith*, in ver. 7. plainly signifies the Holy Ghost, or the inspired Writer of the *Psalm*; *saith*, as may appear to such as look into the Places whence the several remaining Passages, ver. 7, 8, 9, 10. are quoted, and the Manner of Expression is plainly alter'd; yet whether this be so or no; the Argument will not be much affected.

HE tells us, *Some of the Psalms are plainly interlocutory, as Psal. xxiv.* Let this be now suppos'd, whether the Instance he gives be right or no. If any appear to be plainly so, it will be easily allowed. But will it follow, that when our Author wants, or has a mind to have it so, that this must be admitted, even where there is no plain Proof or Appearance of any such thing? Grant me what I desire; and I'll prove

prove what I please. Give him the liberty to do three things. (1.) To suppose, without the least Truth, that the 102d Psalm is interlocutory. (2.) That 'tis a Dialogue between the Father and Christ. And, (3.) That he may at pleasure determine what Words are spoken by the Father, and what by Jesus Christ ; and then it will follow, that the Wordscited in Heb. i. 10, 11, 12. are to be consider'd as the Father's Answer to Christ. This with the help of [ταῦταις] thou shalt remain, (for [ταῦται] thou remainest, the common Reading both of the Septuagint and the Citation in Heb. i. agreeable enough to the Hebrew, consonant to the Syriack, and also to what follows [ν οὐτὶς εἶ] thou art the same) and the Author's Sense too put upon the Words, which is more than all the rest, gives him the assurance to conclude, that this Text does not in the least oppose his Scheme ; and that if others think only, that it will bear, an Argument can't be fairly fetch'd against him from it. A wonderful Discovery ! that none of the former Opposers of our Lord's Divinity dreamt of, to baffle the Argument hence, which they were intent upon, and found so necessary for their Cause, as to attempt all manner of ways to do it. In my opinion, 'tis a sufficient Prejudice against his Interpretation, at least 'tis not to be boasted of, that as it is wholly precarious, and without pretence of proof ; so perfectly new, and unknown to the Christian World before, yet in a very important Article, and nearly affecting our Religion. What may we not make of the Holy Scriptures, if we scruple not to turn and wrest 'em at this rate, and presume arbitrarily to pass our Fancies and new-coined Senses upon 'em as we have occasion, or to serve a present Design.

It may suffice now farther to remark, that the whole 102d Psalm answers its inscribed Title, [A Psalm of the Afflicted] that 'tis a continued Address to the Supreme God under the Name or Title of Jehovah,

(throughout the *Psalm*, except ver. 24.) that there appear not any Footsteps of such an interlocutory Discourse as our Author is willing to imagine ; that as the distressed Church says, ver. 24. *O my God, take me not away in the midst of my Days*; and adds, *Thy Years are throughout all Generations*: so the Address is manifestly continued, ver. 25. *Of old, or, in the Beginning thou hast laid the Foundation of the Earth, &c.* And this suitable to the Expressions before in ver. 11, 12. that [τὸν οὐρανὸν] *Thou, O Lord*, the word by which the Greek Translation renders *Jehovah* every place in the *Psalm*, is put in, not without reason, both by the LXXII, and also by the Apostle ; yet how agreeable to our Author's Notion, that the Father should say to Christ, *Thou, O Jehovah*, he may consider : that in fine, tho his nice Suppositions should pass and be allowed, yet after all, the Creation of the World is ascribed to our Lord Jesus in such a manner, in such strong and express Terms, as make even the *Socinians*, who are seldom at a loss for subtle Evasions, to confess, that if Christ be the Person spoken of, he must be the High God. And where do we find the Almighty spoken of, or the Work of Creation attributed to him in more proper and decisive Expressions ? Nor can it be thought unwarrantable, or without good reason, that what is spoken of God in this *Psalm*, is apply'd to Christ, being consider'd here as the Redeemer and Saviour of his afflicted Church, and for that the calling of the *Gentiles* is here predicted, and the creating of a new People, which properly belongs to the Days of the Messiah, and expounded by the *Jews* in relation to the World to come, or the new State of the Church then to take place.

(5.) As for the next Argument from the Omnipotence of Christ in proof of his Divinity, it will possibly be thought not of less weight and consideration from what appear'd in his Answer, which I fairly

fairly examin'd. Nor will the prudent Reader the less regard what *I said on this Head*, for his calling it *light and superficial*. 'Tis doubtless worthy of Remark, that the wisest of Men, under Conduct of Inspiration, affirms in a most solemn Address to God, *1 Kings viii. 39.* *Thou, even thou only knowest the Hearts of all the Children of Men;* and that the most High assumes and challenges, as his Prerogative and peculiar Glory, *Jer. xvii. 10.* *I the Lord search the Heart, I try the Reins, even to give every Man according to his Ways.* Now if Christ Jesus do, without any difficulty or scruple, without using the least precaution to guard against Mistake, challenge this Honour to himself, in the same Expressions, and to the same Purpose, and say, *Rev. ii. 23.* *All the Churches shall know, that I AM HE,* which searcheth the Reins and Hearts, and I will give unto every one of you according to your Works; how reasonable and necessary to conclude from this, in conjunction with other peculiar and distinguishing Characters of Deity, that he is God in the proper Sense?

OUR Author says, *God is able to impart the Knowledge of the Heart to others, as he did in some Cases to the Prophets.* Of this no question is made, but did ever any Prophet challenge the Prerogative of knowing Hearts, in the Expressions that are employ'd on purpose to set forth the Omnipotence of God? To this he replies, *I never thought that any Prophet had that Knowledge which Christ had; why may not he that can impart the constant Knowledge of the Heart of one Man, impart the Knowledge of the Hearts of all Men?* But if the Knowledge of the Heart was imparted to the Prophets *in some Cases*, why might they not challenge the Prerogative in those Cases? And tho Christ's Knowledge be more full and extensive than any or all the Prophets, yet that seems not to make any difference as to the kind of it, and the manner of imparting, that being but by Revelation, or notice

from another, not by Penetration or direct Intuition. How much more proper then for him to have said, by Divine Vouchsafement 'tis given to me, to understand what is in your Hearts, this Knowledge is imparted to me by him that searches the Heart; than without hesitation to assume the appropriate Stile of the most High, and say, *I AM HE that SEARCHETH the Reins and Hearts?* How reasonable for him to have made some Distinction to prevent Danger of imagining, that he made too bold with the Character, and intrench'd upon the Honour of the great God? No wonder that his Disciples are embolden'd to say, *Joh. xvi. 30. Now we are sure that thou knowest all things.* *Acts i. 24. Thou, Lord, which knowest the Hearts of all Men.* *Joh. xxi. 17. Lord, thou knowest all things.* Is this their free and unlimited ascribing to the Blessed Jesus, not only the Knowledge of Hearts, but absolute Omnipotence, and that in the most solemn and awful Cases, with any Decency to be compared with the Woman of Tekoah's fawning Compliment to David? *2 Sam. xiv. 17, 19, 20.* Or may we safely venture to take the Sense, and expound the Force of their most serious and considerate Expressions upon such Occasions, from those of a crafty Woman, that knew how to give flattering Titles to Princes, and call this *comparing one part of Scripture with another?* Nor can her words, however hyperbolical and fulsom, be in reason thought to signify more, than David's great Sagacity to penetrate the Designs of subtle Courtiers, and his exacter Knowledge in the Affairs of State.

THERE are nevertheless two Texts especially, wherein he imagines that our Saviour does most expressly disclaim this absolute Omnipotence; *Joh. viii. 28. Ye shall know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself, but as my Father has taught me, I speak these things.* And *Mark xiii. 32. Of that Day and Hour knoweth no one, (or no Man) no, nor the Angels that are in Heaven,* neither

whether the Son, but the Father ; or, as in Mat. xxiv. 36. But my Father only. I took what I offer'd upon this to be a pertinent and full Answer ; but he tells me, *I left out the first part of the Text, and jumbled the latter part of it with another.* I shall therefore, to content him, distinctly consider each of them, which I saw not then any need to do.

As to the former, Jesus said to the Jews, ver. 24. *If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your Sins.* They then said, *Who art thou ?* He replies, *Even the same that I said unto you from the Beginning ;* plainly that he was the Messiah that was to come : and adds in this ver. 28. *When ye have lift up the SON OF MAN, then shall ye know that I AM HE, and that I do nothing of myself, but as my Father hath taught me, I do these things.* How could he more explicitly declare, or what more proper Expressions could he use to signify, that he spake of himself as *Son of Man, and Messiah,* come to execute the Commission he had received from his Father, and that he exactly follow'd his Instructions ?

'Tis urged, *What needed the Father to teach the Human Nature of Christ ? Was not his Divine Nature sufficient for that ?* He has the same reason to ask, why the Father is said to raise up Christ from the Dead, when yet he himself says, *Destroy this Body, and in three days I will raise it up again.* There appears not the least Inconsistency in this, when being sent of the Father, he did those things which were according to his Will, and perform'd the Duties of the Character he bare, and the Office he was vested with. So that 'tis no Impeachment of his Omnicience as God, that under another Consideration, as Man and Messiah, he was taught of his Father, and took his Instructions from him.

As to the other Text, about which a great deal of noise has been made, *Mar. xiii. 32.* I observ'd, that Christ, as he was the Son of Man, under which

Character he speaks here of himself, ver. 26. knew no more than was imparted and communicated to him. And it is not unusual in Scripture for the Man Christ Jesus to bear the Name of *Son of God.* Luke i. 35. *Therefore that Holy Thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called the SON OF GOD.* Now what wonder that this Jesus, born of the Virgin, called the *Son of God,* should be ignorant of some things, then not revealed to him, or necessary to be known, when we are expressly told, Chap. ii. 52. that Jesus increased in Wisdom and Stature? ‘ To pre-
 clude, says * Dr. Hammond, the Curiosity of Men,
 ‘ and to engage their Vigilance, Christ is pleased to
 ‘ tell them, that no Dispensation of God’s, either by
 ‘ Man, *viz.* *Daniel,* or any other Prophet, or by
 ‘ Angel, or which is highest, *by the Son of Man,* had
 ‘ order’d us thus *to know the Times or the Seasons;* this
 ‘ being no part of the Prophetick Office of any
 ‘ Man, or within the Commission of Christ himself,
 ‘ to reveal this Secret to them.’ This Matter be-
 ing clear and plain, we need be little moved by what
 our Author suggests to cloud and puzzle it. Says
 he, *Christ was not the Father, and therefore if he knew of
 that Day and Hour himself, he could not consistently with
 Truth say, the Father only knew it.* I answer, This
 goes upon a wrong Supposition, that Christ cannot
 be God, because the Father is God; or that he is
 another God different from him, because he is an-
 other Person. Christ indeed was not the Father, but
 had God for his Father; and when he says, that his
 Father *only* knew the Day of Judgment, he doubt-
 less speaks of his Father *as God.* Omnipotence be-
 longs to him not merely or properly, on the account
 of his being the Father of Christ, but on the account
 of his being God; and consequently the word *only,*
 cannot in reason be construed here to signify more,

* In loc.

than

than to exclude all others from this Knowledge, that differ in Nature and Being from the Father, and are not God.

But did the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, all three, know of that Day and Hour? If they did, what Truth can there be in his saying, no one but the Father knew it? I answer, the word *Father* here cannot be understood to exclude, or stand in opposition to Word and Holy Spirit, who differ not in Nature and Knowledge from him; but distinctly denotes his Relation to the Man Christ in Union with the Word, that holy thing born of the Virgin, therefore called the *Son of God*. The Father as God knew it, and none but God.

To what purpose is this Observation, of his speaking of himself as the Son of Man? Does not that Term denote his whole Person in both his Natures? I answer, Tho that Term is, or may be used, confusedly and in general, to signify his whole Person; yet it may, and sometimes does particularly and precisely denote Christ's human Nature, or the Man Christ Jesus in distinction from his Deity: and so does not always, if at all, denote expressly and distinctly the *whole* of that which belongs to the Person of Christ; that Person being a complex Subject, in which two different Natures are united. Thus the Observation is to good purpose, since what he speaks of himself, as Son of Man, may be very true with respect to his human Nature, and yet cannot be justly apply'd to his divine Nature, as was shewn before. And thus in the Instance he gives, *Joh. iii. 13. Even the Son of Man, which is in Heaven;* I see not but the Person called the Son of Man, having two distinct Natures, might be truly said to be in Heaven in respect of his divine Nature; when yet, as Son of Man, and in regard of his human Nature, he was actually upon Earth, or the Man Christ was not then locally in Heaven. Such further Queries to embarrass the matter in debate, as *Between whom does Christ mediate?*

Did

Did he send himself? Was he taught by himself? &c. appear little to concern it, and are answered elsewhere.

WHEN our Author urged, that the Disciples being inquisitive to know that Day, would be ready to say, Well, Lord, if thou dost not know it as thou art Man, yet tell us as God; I thought it unworthy of his Judgment: as if when they found, that he had it not in his Power and Commission, as Son of Man, to reveal, they would be concern'd farther to importune him about it. He now insists, if they knew him to be God, * must not his Answer be a mere Evasion, when he tells them, he did not know it as Man only? I answer, by no means; if the Man Jesus knew it not, if it had not been revealed to the Man Jesus, to whom they addressed their Inquiry in needless Curiosity, and he had no Warrant or Commission to reveal it, how could they expect or suppose he should tell it? What he subjoins is more plausible, and more worthy of Consideration; *'Tis a vastly different thing for Christ to say absolutely, he did not know the Day and Hour; (which is not true, if he knew it either as God or Man) and for him to say, tho he knew it, he had not Power or Commission, as Son of Man, to reveal it.* To which I say two things. 1. That 'tis no way unwarrantable, or inconsistent with strictest Truth, and Propriety of Speech, for the Man Christ to say absolutely, he knew not, when in truth and reality the Man Christ knew it not. 2. That this manner of Speech is not singular, and appropriate to this Place and Subject; there are other Instances of such absolute Negations, which yet must be construed and understood with such like Limitations. When our Lord says, Joh. xvii. 11. *Now I am no more in the World, I come to thee;* who imagines, that tho the Man Christ Jesus, the Son of

* Pl. Chr. p. 47.

God, be passed into the Heavens, Heb. iv. 14. which must receive him, until the Times of Restitution of all things, Acts iii. 21. that yet Christ is so confined within the Heavens, as not, in respect of another Nature, to be really present in the World? *Where two or three are gathered together in his Name, he is present in the midst of them, Mat. xviii. 20.* The Nature and Extent of his Government and Administration is such, as necessarily demands and supposes a more general, and an effectual Presence in the World.

It appears after all, somewhat shocking, that these Gentlemen, after disowning the Omniscience of Christ, which is an essential Perfection of Deity, make so little difficulty of denying him true Humanity, or at least making him a Man of another Nature, and of a different Kind from all the Men that ever were, or ever will be. But they must be excused in this, as in many other things, which they would hardly do, but in compliance with the Necessities of a Scheme which they have espoused; and this is not denied to be one of the peculiar Opinions of Arius. Now what *Definition* does our Author give us of a Man? Says he, *I understand thereby no more than such Bodies as we have inhabited and governed by intelligent and reasonable Substances.* If he will needs understand it so, who can help it? I believe it will not be easy to find this Definition in any approved Writer. Can he prove, or is he sure, that all Spirits or intelligent Substances are of the same Kind? or that Angels do not specifically differ from human Souls? Does he find in Scripture, or elsewhere, so much as one Instance of any other intelligent Spirit animating and informing such Bodies as we have, than a human Soul? Our Lord took not on him, or united to himself the Nature of Angels; but he took the Seed of Abraham, it behoving him in all things to be made like unto his Brethren. But, says our Author, *two things shew how little this is to his purpose;* 1. *That the*

all things wherein he is said to be made like to his Brethren, is explained Heb. ii. 18. to refer to his Sufferings and Temptations. That they refer to this, will be easily granted, his Sufferings and Temptations being some of those things wherein he was made like unto us ; but were these the *all things*? He durst not say this, but is obliged to add, 2. *That he was made like unto us, in his having Flesh and Blood as we have*; which is expressly mention'd in reference to his Death upon the Cross for us, tho' the inspir'd Writer does not there so expressly mention his reasonable Soul, that being not the visible and immediate Subject of that Death. But must we hence conclude, that he had not such a reasonable Soul? when yet this also seems plainly imply'd; nor could he be in *all things* like unto us without it, or so truly ally'd to us as 'twas expedient for the Redeemer of Mankind to be, that being a main and most considerable part of human Nature, tho' not so immediately necessary to be there directly mentioned. That he was made in *all things* like unto us, is most plainly asserted; but our Author would have it to be only in some things, excepting and excluding that, upon the account whereof chiefly we are Men. But we have had this matter already under consideration before *.

(6.) We advance now to the sixth Argument the Letter took notice of, for the Deity of Christ, the Worship we are warranted and required by the Scripture to give him. This must be regarded as of grand Importance and Consideration in Religion. Here every Christian has an Interest at stake, and is immediately concerned. Nor is there any thing

* Origen, in his Answer to Celsus, takes notice of the Words, assuming both a human Soul and Body, p. 170. Λι δέ καὶ σῶμα θυτό τοῦ Φύσης αὐθεγόνων ἀνατίθεται οὐδείνατο Θεός λόγος, δοκεῖ τὸ πεπονιαν ανατίθεσθαι τὸ μετατραπέσθαι, μαρτυρίων δὲ λόγων αἰδήμην πολὺτερον πάχει τὸ σῶμα τὸ Φύσης.

wherein the great God appears more jealous : This Glory he will be distinguish'd by, and by no means allow to any other. Christian Religion was design'd and fitted to disgrace and root out the Idolatries, that the Nations under specious Pretences had been seduced into ; to retrieve the Honour, to restore and settle the Worship of the God that made the Heavens and the Earth. How shocking ! and how sad ! to imagine, that the End of its Institution should be so little understood and answer'd, as that the Generality of its Professors, in a manner throughout the World, and from one Age to another, should worship an inferior and different Being, as the Supreme God ! An Idolatry which the wiser Heathens could scarce be charged with ! That the Reformed Churches, who so carefully, and with such a jealous Zeal, threw out the Superstitions that had crept into the Christian Worship ; and after the most diligent Researches, and Concern to adjust and conform it to the Rule of Holy Scripture, should yet unanimously agree in a barefac'd Idolatry ! Unhappy and fatal Mistake ! after such prudent and avow'd Endeavours to come to a true Understanding of the Mind of God, and establish the Purity of his Worship !

OUR Author, without the least occasion from my Defence, suggests, that such as dispute for the Deity of Christ on the Article of Worship, being *pinched with their Answer, presently run in a Circle* ; whereas the truth is, if we prove that the Worship of the Supreme God belongs to him, we certainly gain our point : and if by other Arguments independent on this, we first prove him to be the Supreme God, we make no scruple to challenge for him the Worship that belongs to him as such, without danger of running into a Circle, or giving the least colour for such a Charge. 'Tis the former way of arguing that is now under Debate.

As for Bellarmine's first Argument for the Worship of Angels and Saints, from Psal. xcix. 5. *Worship his Footstool*, which was consider'd in answer to the Letter; our Author is pleased now to say, *I denied not that they were to worship at his Footstool: but the thing that I insist on is, that a religious Respect was hereby paid to the Place for God's sake.* The Expression is to me ambiguous, and I am at a loss how to understand it. If he means that the things appropriate and set apart by God's Appointment for his special Service, were to be accounted sacred, not to be profaned and prostitute to common Use, I have no Controversy with him or Mr. Mede about it; but if he thinks, that because the People were to worship at his Footstool, that the Footstool therefore *itself* was to be worshipped, I see not the least ground for such a Surmise or Interpretation. As the Expression imports not any Command for paying Worship to the *Footstool*, but only an Order or Direction to worship God there, or towards that *Place*, 1 Kings viii. 30. Psal. cxxxviii. 2. so we find not any Instance or approved Practice of such Worship.

I observ'd that our Author's Notion seemed to state the Business of religious Worship upon the foot of a mere positive Command; so that Pagans and Papists are Idolaters only for want of God's Precept for their Worship: whereas the Scripture charges with Idolatry upon the account of doing service to them who by Nature are no Gods, Gal. iv. 8. Rom. i. 25.

The formal Object of religious Worship is still the same, and Reason or natural Light may be sufficient to direct to it, or at least determine what is not a fit and proper Object; but the Case is different with respect to the Means and Manner of Worship, where there is room and occasion for the Direction of a particular Institution or Command. To this he replies, *I distinguish between the religious Worship, which results naturally from the Perfections of God, and*

and his Relations to us, and the particular Way and Manner in which this is to be paid ; the first of these cannot, the second may rest upon the foot of a mere positive Command. So far then we are agreed ; but I am at a loss how to understand him in the Application of this to the Case. That we are to worship the Supreme God, does not depend merely upon a positive Command ; that we are to worship him thro Christ the Mediator, or that we are to pay a subordinate Worship to Christ, which is to terminate upon the Supreme God his Father, can depend upon nothing but a mere positive Command. The whole Strength of the Answer appearing to lie in this, it may be more distinctly consider'd. We must clearly distinguish between the formal Object of Worship, and the Means and Manner of the Worship directed to that Object ; or between the thing worshipped, and the way of worshipping. That God is to be worshipped, surely depends not upon a mere positive Command, but that he will be worshipped in this or the other way, where the Light of Nature is not sufficient to direct, must be learned from the Discoveries he has made of his Mind, and depends upon his positive Order. Thus particularly that he will be worshipped by a Mediator, may be well signified by his positive Precept. But could our Author imagine, that his Readers would take, *worshipping God thro Christ, and paying a subordinate Worship to Christ*, to be Expressions of the same Sense and Import, without his offering the least Proof of that which is the thing in question ? God's People of old had his positive Command for worshipping him by Sacrifices ; shall we hence infer or suppose, that a subordinate Worship was to be paid to those Sacrifices by Divine Appointment ? He was willing handsomely to slide in his Notion of *paying a subordinate Worship to Christ*, which methinks we should find very plain and express Scriptures for, in a matter of so great moment, when there appears so great care every where to secure

cure and appropriate religious Worship to the Almighty ; and this Business of a subordinate Worship to be paid to a new and inferior Deity, was new and unheard of in the Church before. And one would reasonably expect, that it should be very clearly stated, and the Bounds of it carefully fix'd, to prevent Danger of mistake, and applying that Worship to Christ, which is due only to the Supreme God. Can it be said, there was no Danger of such Mistake, when the Christian World has manifestly run into it, when innumerable, after the most anxious Enquiries, have not been able to escape it ? If our Worship is to be regulated by Divine Command, what can be more express and decisive than, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve ?* No exception or allowance made for serving an inferior or subordinate God, any more than for offering Sacrifice to any such, when the *Israelites* were ordered not to sacrifice to any God, save the Lord, *Exod. xxii. 20.*

He adds, *Which (subordinate Worship) is to terminate upon the Supreme God his Father.* But where does the Scripture plainly tell us this, or speak any thing of it ? If we must pay subordinate Worship to Christ, is he not the proper Object of that Worship ? And is it not a very different sort of Worship from that which is to be paid to the Supreme God ? If subordinate Worship belong to Christ, and he be the Object of it by his Father's Appointment, must it not properly terminate on him ? Can subordinate Worship in fair Construction and good Sense, be said to terminate upon the Supreme God, when 'tis not this, but a Worship of another nature, and a higher kind, that is to be given him thro Christ ? This to be sure he reserves and demands for himself, tho he should be supposed to allow a subordinate and lower sort of Worship to another. Nor do I see but I may worship God thro Christ, without making Christ

Christ the Object of my Worship, or giving him any real religious Worship at all; for 'tis one thing to be a Means of Worship designed for, and terminated upon another, and another thing to be made the Object of Worship. Whence methinks there is just occasion to doubt, whether these Gentlemen do directly and in a proper sense worship Christ himself, while they make him only the Means or Mediator of the Worship they design for, and offer to a superior Being.

As to Pagans and Papists, says our Author, supposing their *Worship* is design'd to terminate upon the Supreme God, I think it is most true, that the only thing which makes them *Idolaters*, is the want of God's Precept for their *Worship*. If the Apostle had thought so, it had been as easy for him to have given this as the true and only Reason of charging the *Gentiles* with Idolatry; and to have urged that they had no Command for worshipping their inferior Gods: when yet he grounds his Charge upon another bottom, as doing service to them, who by Nature were no Gods. They seem plainly to have erred in the Object of their Worship, in that they worshipped and served the Creature beside the Creator, and not only in the Manner of their Worship, this latter being properly the Subject of a positive Command, and to be regulated by it, whereas the former is of a moral and unalterable Nature. But do not the Papists plead, in excuse of the Worship they pay to Angels and Saints, that it redounds to the Honour of God, who has exalted them to a State of Dignity and Preheminence, and made them Instruments of great Good to us upon Earth? And might not this be thought to imply, and be equivalent to a positive Command of worshipping them? Yet as St. Peter utterly refused it when offer'd by Cornelius, *Acts* x. 25, 26. so when John fell down before the feet of the Angel to worship him, *Rev. xxii. 8,9.* he said, See thou do it not, *worship*

worship God ; intimating that God is the only Object of Religion, and that not so much as any outward Act of Adoration, which may be justly construed to signify and express religious Worship, can warrantably be used unto any but the Supreme God, whatever Character of Dignity or Usefulness may be put upon them, or Pretence made of terminating it upon God.

OUR Author conceives that the Israelites were guilty of Idolatry, in paying their Worship towards the Calves of Dan and Bethel, which they had not the Warrant of a positive Command for, instead of doing it towards the Temple. And if this were admitted, it alters not the Case. A positive Command might fix the Manner of Worship, while they kept to the right Object ; but if they worshipped the Calves themselves, their Practice was Idolatry upon another account, as a Violation of the Moral Rule and Law of religious Worship.

As to what was offer'd from Gal. iv. 8. he says, *We do Service to him only who is by Nature God. We pay no Service but what terminates upon him, and is according to his express Command. If I hire a Servant, and engage him to quit all other Masters, and serve me only, does he act inconsistently with this Engagement, when by my Order and Appointment he serves my Child?* I answer, No; if in Attendance on a Child, he does the Service in your Family, which therefore is properly yours : but if you consign him to the Service of your Son, that has a Family and Interest of his own, he therefore acts not inconsistently with his Engagement, because this is done by Compact and mutual Consent ; but his Service is then to be consider'd as transfer'd, and to be perform'd not properly and personally to you, but to your Son, whose immediate and proper Servant he is become. But religious Worship however is of another nature, due only to him who is God by Nature, and is not capable of being

being transfer'd ; nor can it be imagin'd that God should warrant any Worship by Precept, which the Light of Nature does condemn : that he should countenance or excuse from the Guilt of Idolatry, the worshipping of a Creature, on pretence of terminating the Worship on himself.

WHEREAS I render'd Rom. i. 25. worshipping the Creature *with* or *beside* the Creator, he will needs call it *attempting to mend our Translation*, (a thing which he is not wont to scruple.) But is this rendering harsh or unnatural, or inconsistent with the Scope of the Place, or so much as strange and unusual ? Tho such as are addicted to Idolatry, are wont to be mad upon their Idols, and to worship the Creature *more than* the Creator, which possibly may be here intimated ; yet this is not the formal Reason, or the proper Ground of charging Men with Idolatry, but their setting up another, or a false Object for their Worship, in the room of the only true one, mention'd partly before ver. 23. more fully here, *Who changed the Truth of God into a Lye, and worshipped and served the Creature beside the Creator*; opposing God as Creator to all Creatures whatsoever, without the least notice of any middle or other Being, that comes not within the compass of this Distinction, to which Worship might be due. Nor is it so much as pretended that [παρά] may not well be so rendred, as *i Cor. iii. 11.* [παρὰ τὸν κείμενον] than *or* beside *that which is laid*. *Gal. i. 8, 9.* [περὶ ὧν παραλαβέτε] than *or* besides *which ye have received*, &c. As Athanasius constructs it to this Sense, * observing that the Arians as well as the *Gentiles* [τὴν οὐσίαν λαζαρεύεται τοῦ οὐσιῶν τὰ τάντα δέῖν] worship the Creature *beside* God the Creator of all things : so † Origen also, speaking of the Idolatry of the *Perians* in worshipping the Sun

* Contra Arianos, Oratione quarta.

† Contra Celsum, lib. 7.

and the Creatures of God, adds, [ἄπειρον οὐτίν τι παραπέμπειν, διασωμάτων μὴ λαττεύειν τὴν κίστην παρεγγ. τὸν κίστην] which is forbidden us, who are taught not to serve the Creature *besides* or *together with* the Creator. ‘Dr. Whitby’ upon the place notes, in the 23d Verse, they are charged only with false Representations of God, in this also with a false Object of their Worship, by giving the Divine Honour to a Creature.’

OUR Author might very well suppose, *that I will not say, the Light of Nature condemns the worshipping God by a Mediator*; but when he adds, *nor can I conceive how we can worship God by a Mediator, without paying some kind of Worship to the Mediator*, I want to be inform’d what kind of Worship that is, since with me all Religious Worship is appropriate to God. When I pray to God thro the Mediator, I do not address that Prayer to the Mediator, accounting that so it will terminate upon God; but making God the Object of my Worship, I am encouraged to hope that my Prayer will meet with acceptance on the Mediator’s account, or by means of his Merit and Intercession. But he would ask Mr. Moore, *if he worship Christ as Supreme God, whether he worship him thro a Mediator? Will he assert that he mediates with himself?* Let us but draw this Matter out of its affected Obscurity, and the seeming Difficulty, so frequently objected by him, ceases. *There is one Mediator between God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus;* now when we come to God, or worship him by this Mediator, we make use of him as our High Priest to bring us to God, or into Acceptance with him. In this Office we consider him, first, as making Reconciliation, by dying as a Sacrifice; and then passing into the Heavens for ever to make Intercession. In dependence on the Virtue and Efficacy hereof, we make our Addresses to God for Grace and Blessings, and hope that our Worship and Services will be accepted; yet this regard to his Mediation is not properly worshipping him, tho it has

has its weight and value from his being God as well as Man. If besides, I address Acts of Worship to Christ as God, I think it no Incongruity to do it, under the Consideration and Encouragement of that Liberty of Access, and assured Acceptance, we have by the Blood of the Cross; yet it cannot be said that the Man Christ does mediate with himself, but directly with God the Father, tho not separately and in exclusion of the Word and Spirit. If the Father be propitiated and reconciled, the Son also and Spirit, who were jointly offended by Sin, must of course and consequence be reconciled likewise, being of the same Nature and Will with the Father.

HENCE 'tis very agreeable to my Sentiment to say, what it seems our Author *took notice of with pleasure*, that the Gospel directs to the worshipping and addressing the Father, thro Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit; and this common Method of Christian Worship is congruous and suited to the known Dispensation of Grace. Upon this he makes two Remarks. (1.) *If this be true, what reason can those have, who are of Mr. Moore's opinion, to break Communion with such as confessedly comply with the Gospel-Direction?* I answer, There may be other just and necessary Reasons for a separate Communion, even where this Direction, at least in a loose and general Form of Words, is comply'd with. And good Men may think they have reason to be exempted from Imposition, and to be excused from joining stately under a Ministry, and in a Communion, where themselves and Families are like to be continually in the way of Temptation, and in danger of being practised upon by the Artifices of such as would draw them into Error; where their Faith and Practice shall be condemn'd as Idolatrous; where the Honour and Worship which they believe in their Consciences to be due to the Lord that bought them, and to be paid him by Divine Appointment in the Assemblies of

Christians, is professedly deny'd him; where they shall want some special Means of being establish'd and built up in their Faith, and Hope, and Joy: And all this without necessity, when they may comfortably settle in a Communion, where with one Mind and one Heart, with Words of Truth, and with united Affections, they may worship the Father thro Christ, and also call upon the Lord Jesus, and pay him their Vows and Homage as their Saviour and their God, and safely use all the proper Methods for their Edification and Furtherance. (2.) He says, *But how is it that we are to worship the Father through Christ? Is it not by a Trust in the Mediation of Christ? And is not that Trust in him as dying? Can we trust in him as dying, without trusting in him AS MAN?* I answer, This Matter has been clear'd a little before. It may be now added, that we consider Christ's Death as a grand Motive and Encouragement to our Trust, and a Ground of it; but we take the Mediator, who died as Man, to be God as well as Man: we believe that God laid down his Life for us*, that God redeemed the Church with his own Blood †, that unless his Divinity had given value to his Death, it had not been sufficient for the Redemption of a lost World, or a sufficient Foundation for our Hope and Trust. Tho the Death of Christ therefore, which he suffer'd in the Nature of Man, be a special Argument for our Trust in him; yet he is not *as Man* the proper Object of our Trust, but *as God*: nor can our Trust in him be construed in any Propriety of Speech, as *an Act of subordinate Worship*.

WHEREAS our Author, p. 55. argues, that if Christ be acknowledged as Mediator to be a subordinate Power, and is to be worshipped as Mediator, the *Man Christ Jesus sharing in the Honour and Worship that is*

* 1 Joh. iii. 16.

† Acts xx. 28.

given to him, this *Worship* must necessarily be subordinate and inferior *Worship*: There might be some colour for this, were the formal Reason of worshipping the Mediator acknowledged to be the subordinate Power he has received; but since we believe the Mediator to be God manifested in Flesh, and worship this Person under no other formal Consideration, but as such, we are safe as to the Object of our *Worship*, while as Mediator in the Exercise of a subordinate Power, he gives motive and occasion, and brings us under peculiar Obligations to do him homage. Thus the *Worship* we give to Christ the Mediator, differs from that which we give to God absolutely consider'd, and to God the Father, not in respect of its Nature, but of its peculiar Motives and Manner of Expression.

I observ'd, that it was no other than subordinate *Worship* which the Devil had the Impudence to ask of Christ, acknowledging that his Power and Dominion was but derived and subordinate: *Luke iv. 6. It is deliver'd unto me.* He replies, *Why may not our Lord's Answer be thus understood, that by God's Command he only is to be worshipped; and my worshipping thee can be no worshipping him, and therefore contrary to his Command?* In return to which I say, (1.) If by God's Command he himself is only to worshipped, must it not be contrary to his Command (as well as to Reason) to worship any other besides him? And how then can worshipping another be worshipping him, when he has expressly forbid the worshipping any other? (2.) If our Lord had thought a subordinate *Worship* allowable, and that it might be lawfully given to a subordinate Power, as redounding to the Glory of the Supreme; had it not been most natural for him, in confutation of the Devil's Claim, to say, *Thou art a Lyar, there's no such Power and Dominion delivered unto thee as thou pretendst, and therefore thou hast no right to be worshipped?* But he answers

swers him in such a manner, as to bar his Pretensions to Worship, tho' what he alledged had been even true, that such a subordinate Power had been given him; plainly signifying, that 'tis contrary to the Rights and Command of the Supreme God, to give religious Worship to any other, even under pretence and on account of a delegated and subordinate Power. So neither Angels, nor Saints, nor any pretended inferior Deities can lawfully be worshipped under the Notion of subordinate Powers.

I shewed that religious Worship, as importing a Subjection of Soul to the Being we address it, is due only to God, who alone has a Right and immediate Access to it; That besides worshipping God by the Mediator, we are directly to worship Jesus Christ himself, to devote ourselves, to submit our Wills and Consciences to him as our rightful Owner and Sovereign Lord, as being our Creator, Redeemer, and Saviour. He replies, *A Subjection of Soul can be originally and absolutely due to none but God; but that God cannot communicate such Perfections to another, or entrust him with such a full Power and Authority, as that Persons shall be bound to express this Subjection to himself, by the Subjection of their Souls to such a qualified and authorized Person, is what is denied; and that Christ has a Claim to us under any other Consideration than the Father's Agent.* Besides what has been already offer'd against this fond and groundless Notion, which the Scripture nowhere mentions; if this Worship can be *originally* due to none but God, methinks we should not venture to give it to another, unless assured upon the most certain and indubitable Grounds, that he had so far parted with his Right, as to make it another's by Derivation, when yet he has expressly told us, that he will not give his Glory to another.

NOR can I understand, how Subjection of Heart and Conscience should be with Reserve and Limitation, and not *absolute*, when this is the utmost I have to

to give ; and know not what greater or more absolute Homage the Most High can demand or expect. And what greater Obligations can I possibly have than to him who made me, has preserved and redeemed me, and upon whom is my Dependence and Trust for eternal Salvation and Felicity ? Content I must needs be to resign myself absolutely to him, who does all this for me. How reasonable that none of us should live to himself, and no Man die to himself ; that *whether we live, we should live to the Lord, and whether we die, we should die to the Lord, since whether we live or die, we are the Lord's?* For my part, I see not what more absolute Homage can be given to any, or what more required. How can we suppose another vested with such a Trust, to be so qualify'd, and in such Authority, as to demand this Homage, without intercepting the Regards which can be due only to God ? What Danger of forgetting him, if we are thus left in the hands, and unto the disposal of another ? The Obligation and Dependence seem too great and boundless for any Creature or subordinate Power.

N O R does the saying that Christ is God's Agent or Deputy, obviate the Danger, or lessen the Difficulty. If a Steward receives Homage of a Tenant, as Agent for the Lord of the Fee, shall he demand for himself any part of the Service promised ? When a Prince marries by Proxy, who does imagine that the Proxy may lawfully challenge a share in the Rights of the Marriage, wherein he was but his Master's Deputy ? If *Christ has not a Claim to us under any other Consideration than the Father's Agent,* how is it that the Scripture warrants and requires the most solemn and proper Acts of religious Worship to be directed to Christ himself ? Might we not expect he should say, See that ye do it not, I am but a Servant, I am but my Father's Agent, worship God ? That he was a Servant, and an Agent, is readily confessed ;

confessed ; but that he was but a Servant and an Agent, and nothing more, and that Worship is due to him under no other Consideration, cannot be allow'd, against the plainest Declarations of Scripture, which still sets him forth as *God, over all, blessed for evermore.* And it was observed, that he does not merely as an Agent or Ambassador, but as a Sovereign demand Obedience, and proclaim Peace and Pardon to rebellious Subjects.

We proceed then to the four things that were urged in the Defence, for giving direct Divine Worship to Jesus Christ.

(1.) IN general we are directed to honour the Son even as we honour the Father ; *He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that sent him,* Joh. v. 23. 'Tis a tender point, and of the last consequence, to give due Honour and Worship to the Son. If we refuse or neglect to do this, the Father accounts not himself honour'd, nor will be pleased with the Respect and Worship we pretend to yield him. The Expression here seems manifestly, and upon first view, to denote an equal, or at least the same kind of Sacred and Divine Worship, to be given to the Son, with that which is given to the Father ; and to give him another kind of Honour, is not to honour him at all, even as we honour the Father.

I had occasion to take notice *, that the word [*ρέως, as*] in Mat. v. 48. as in many other places, can denote but a Resemblance or Similitude ; and our Author is willing to believe that *this is one of those many other places :* If then he can make it appear that it can here denote no other, and that there is like necessity of construing it to this Sense, as in the place I mentioned, it will readily be admitted ; but till then, it ought in reason to be left to its proper Force and Signification. He thinks that the foregoing

* Def. p. 19.

words quite overthrow the Inference drawn from this Text : The Father judgeth no Man, but hath committed all Judgment to the Son, that all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. And can that Honour, which is the consequence of the Father's Grant, be equal to the Honour which is due to the Father, who makes the Grant, and for whose sake the Honour is to be paid ? If he means here, (else the Remark signifies nothing to his purpose) that the Honour to be given to the Son is merely the Consequence of the Father's Grant, and merely for his sake, without respect to the Dignity of his Person ; he not only takes civilly for granted, what is utterly deny'd, but what can by no means be drawn as a just Inference from the foregoing words. Were not Christ God in our Nature, he would neither be capable of so great a Trust, nor of the Honour that attends it. That the Government of the World is by Dispensation and Agreement devolved on him, that all Judgment is committed to him, and left in his hand ; is so far from being a reason for a lesser and inferior sort of Honour to be given him, that 'tis a plain and convincing Proof, and certain Ground for honouring him, even as we honour the Father.

THE Father's Right to Divine Worship was establish'd and acknowledg'd before ; but the Son's appearing in the Likeness of sinful Flesh, and in the Form of a Servant, might be thought such a Diminution of his native Glory, as that Men might be apt (as we find they still are) to yield him but a lower kind of Respect and Honour, than what is confessed to be the Father's Due : wherefore the sole Administration of things in the World, and in the Church, is entrusted with him, that instead of losing by his Condescension and Abasement, he might hereby come to have the same Honour distinctly paid him, as is given to the Father, under distinct and peculiar Motives. Thus the Father's committing

all Judgment to the Son is not *here*, as he supposes, made the formal Reason of that Honour that is paid to him, but a special Argument and Consideration moving to it, and enforcing it. And this Authority is consign'd to him, or given him, not AS, but BECAUSE he is the Son of Man; for merely as Man, he could not exercise such a Power, and it was not fit he should suffer a Diminution of his just Honour, by becoming Man. Because therefore of his Incarnation, and his becoming the Son of Man, he had Authority yielded or given him to execute Judgment also. Thus tho he appeared in the Fashion of a Man, the Jews might be convinced, that he was not guilty of a Crime in making himself equal with God, and challenging the same Honour that is to be paid to the Father, ver. 18, &c.

I had said, and shall we come off with this Prentence, that we honour Christ Jesus truly, tho not with the same or like kind of Honour with the Father? Must we not truly honour our Rulers? And which of them, nay, which of the glorious Angels has God at any time commanded, that we should honour even as we honour himself? He answers, '*Tis obvious earthly Rulers are fallible, a Reserve is necessary to be made;* yet I hope they are truly to be honour'd, tho not obey'd without Reserve. He adds, that *I laid not the Stress where I ought, upon the Universality of the Dominion of the Son.*—Now there is no Ruler whom God has made it the Duty of all Men to obey. Nor indeed did I lay the Stress upon that, or take the question to be, whether *some*, or *all* Men, were to obey Christ; but whether *all* Men were to honour him with the like or same Honour which they pay to the Father.

(2.) The next Argument taken from prostrate Adoration, and solemn Ascription of Glory, by the whole Church, to Christ Jesus jointly with the Father, Rev. v. 11, 12, 13. is briefly answer'd, that Christ is

is there consider'd as the Lamb, and as slain ; and consequently if it proves any thing, it proves too much : which goes upon the Supposition that he is there worshipped but as the Lamb, and as slain, or solely upon this account ; whereas that is not to be consider'd as the principal Ground and formal Reason, but as a most proper Inducement, and obliging Motive to the rendering him a distinct and peculiar Worship. He who appear'd as a Lamb slain, with the Memorials of his Death, was yet to be regarded as God, or ceased not to be, God over all blessed for ever.

(3.) That Jesus Christ is to be worshipped by direct and solemn Invocation, he says, *he makes no doubt* ; but as I see not how any but the great God can well be complimented with this Honour, so nor that his reason for allowing it to Christ is sufficient, or such as implies *no doubt* in him, who only says, *I see not how we can come to God by him as a Mediator, without somewhat of this nature.* Our Author does not tell us what he means by *somewhat of this nature* ; but I take direct and solemn Invocation to be a thing very different from *coming to God by him as Mediator* : for 'tis God himself we make our Address and Prayer to, while we hope to be heard and accepted thro the Death and Intercession of Christ : but we do not only pray to God, and come to him by the Mediator, but the Scripture warrants our praying unto Christ himself : The Practice of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10. 1 Thess. iii. 11, 12. 2 Thess. ii. 16. —iii. 16. The Practice of Christians, by which they are described, Acts ix. 14, 21. 1 Cor. i. 2, &c. However, our Author intimates an Inclination to understand with Dr. Hammond the words 1 Cor. i. 2. [πᾶς ἀναληφός τὸ ὄνομα τὸ κυρίου] who call upon the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, not to signify *their calling upon his Name*, but their being *called by his Name*. And whereas Dr. Whitby has quoted several Places from the Septuagint to show that this Phrase is not so used in their

Translation; he thinks the first mentioned by him, Gen. iv. 26. [Ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι ἀναγένεται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς] may be translated, *He hoped to be called by the Name of the Lord.* Now tho it might possibly bear this Sense in this one place, which is neither so natural, nor so agreeable to the Hebrew, the other appears to be the constant Meaning in a great number of places where the LXXII use it *; and when they express that which our Author mentions, they alter the Phrase, as † Isa. iv. 1. *Let us be called by thy Name,* [Ἄδεια τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὐτός εἰσεσθεῖ] the same difference is observed in the New Testament, as Acts vii. 59. compared with Acts xv. 17.

As for Joel ii. 32. apply'd without hesitation to Christ, Rom. x. 13. he says, *Where is the Absurdity of supposing the Father to be this Lord of all, whose Name is as yet open?* I answer, in that the Supposition agrees not with the Apostle's Argument, who in the whole Chapter treats of Faith in Christ, who is the Foundation that is laid in Zion, Rom. ix. 31. from Isa. xxviii. 16. so interpreted 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7. *Whoever believeth in him shall not be ashamed,* ver. 11. In proof of this the Apostle adds, ver. 13. from Joel ii. 32. (which manifestly refers to the Time of the Messiah, and the Calling of the Gentiles) *For whosoever shall call upon*

* For Satisfaction the Reader may consult for [τὸν λαὸν τὸ ἔργον μὴν τὸ Σατανᾶ] Gen. iv. 26. —xiii. 4. —xxvi. 25. 1 Chr. xvi. 8. Psal. lxxxix. 6. —lxxv. 18. —xcix. 6. —cv. 1. —cxvi. 4, 13. Isa. lxiv. 7. Jer. x. 25. Lam. iii. 55. Joel ii. 32. Zach. xiii. 9. [ἐν τῷ ἐπικαλεσμένῳ τῷ Θεῷ] 1 Kings xviii. 24, 25, 26. 2 Kings v. 11. Psal. cxvi. 17. [εἰπεν τῷ Θεῷ καταβούσι] Gen. xii. 8. —xxi. 33. [επειδήτω τὸν Θεόν] Gen. xxxiii. 20. 1 Chron. iv. 10. Amos iv. 12. Jonas i. 6. [τὸν κέρπον] 1 Sam. xii. 17, 18. 2 Sam. xxii. 4, 7. 1 Kings xvii. 21. Psal. xiv. 4. —xviii. 3, 6. —liii. 4. —cx. iii. 5. [ἀντὸν] Psal. cxlv. 18. —cxlvii. 9. [πε] 1 Kings viii. 43, 52. 2 Chron. vi. 33. Psal. lvi. 9. —lxvvi. 5. —cii. 2. —cxviii. 3. Isa. lv. 5. Lam. iii. 57. [με] Psal. lxxxii. 7. Prov. i. 28. Psal. l. 15. Jer. xi. 14.

† And in my other places. See Dr. Whitby's Note on 1 Cor. i. 2. the

the Name of the Lord, shall be saved ; saying further, ver. 14 How then shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed ? And how shall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard ? That is, How shall they call on, and believe in Christ Jesus, who have not heard of him, unto whom he has not been preached and made known ; since 'tis not by Nature, but by Revelation only, that we come to the Knowledge of him ?

He grants, we may not address our Prayers directly to any other but him, who is the Object of our Faith and Trust ; but supposes our *Faith and Trust must be subordinate to that, which we are to place in God, since by Christ we believe in God, that raised him from the Dead, and gave him Glory, that our Faith and Hope might be in God, 1 Pet. i. 21.* And who doubts that God's raising Christ from the Dead, and advancing him to Glory, is a grand Encouragement to Faith and Hope in God, or is a sufficient Reason for us to believe and hope, that he will forgive our Sins, and bestow eternal Life upon us ? But besides believing in God by Christ, that is, by what he has done for us, and still does in Heaven, we are also distinctly to believe in him, and make him the Object of our Faith and Hope. Not a word here, that I see, of subordinate Faith and Trust, only a special Argument and Direction for our Faith.

(4.) I urged that Christ is also the proper or supreme Object of Religion, as that signifies a Devotion to the Service and Glory of him, whom we worship. This is express'd in the common Profession and Practice of Christians, according to Engagement in the solemn Rite of Baptism, Rom. xiv. 7,8,9. *Whether we live, we live unto the Lord, &c.* importing, as hath been shown, the highest Respect and Homage we are able to pay. Neither can I understand how Christ should have a Right to this, and demand it, by the sole Gift of the Father, without consideration of the

the Dignity of his Person ; or that, as a *Being inferior to the Father, he should be capable of such a Gift, as proper, tho' call'd a subordinate Worship.* But this Matter has been sufficiently discuss'd before ; and if there had been room for such a Distinction, and for worshipping an inferior Being, that by Nature is not God, it had been as easy for the Scripture to make it, and settle the bounds of subordinate Worship ; nay, it had been necessary to be most express and plain, in so important a case : whereas it is not only silent about it, but uses the greatest precaution to prevent the worshipping any other, but the Lord our God only.

N O R is there just ground or pretence for calling the Service we do to Christ, as God over all, subordinate Worship, because this *is to the Glory of the Father :* It is doubtless to the Glory of Christ, or matter of Glory to him, that by him we do believe in God. As the divine Persons delight in glorifying each other, so in honouring the Son we honour the Father also, and in paying Honour to the Father, according to the Gospel-Institution, we likewise honour the Son ; but in one and the other we truly worship God, and set not up an inferior Being, or any Creature, as the Object of our religious Service.

As for *Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11.* That the Father has exalted the Man Christ, the Mediator, and given him a Name above every Name, and that this is unto the Glory of God the Father, we most readily grant ; a *very material Objection*, it seems, with our Author, which serves him upon all Occasions : but that this is the sole ground of the Worship we are to pay to the Son of God, we utterly deny. It was not fit that he should lose by his Incarnation and Sufferings, in consequence of which, all Judgment is committed to him, and the Government of the World solely entrusted in his Hands, that he may receive the Homage due to him, as our Creator and sovereign Lord,

and

and all Men may honour him, even as they honour the Father. But he asks, *If Christ had an original Right to the Government of the World, how comes this Right to be given him of the Father?* I answer, 'Tis not his original Right, as God, that is the subject of the Father's Gift, but the Right he has, and the Power he exercises, as Mediator, which is of a different consideration, and is managed in a different manner, and to different purposes. He adds, *If he had such an original Right, he could have no need that it should be committed to him to be exercis'd in our Nature; this would continue with him, when he took upon him our Nature, without any Gift at all, and he must have a Right to the immediate Exercise of this Power.* I answer, He could not have the immediate Exercise of such Power, in quality of Mediator, and the Administration of all Things in the Dispensation of Grace, or mediatorial Kingdom, but in consequence of his undertaking and performing the Work of a Mediator, to be done in our Nature; so the sole Administration and Exercise of governing Power in the Hands of the Mediator, may well be by the Gift and Appointment of the Father. *Why do we never read of the Holy Ghost's giving him this Power, as well as the Father?* Answ. Because there was no occasion, his Consent and Concurrence being included in the Father's Will; and because not so congruous to the known Order among the divine Persons: besides, that the Holy Ghost condescends to a distinct Office and Work in the Dispensation of Grace, while the Son is the sole Mediator, and has all Judgment committed to him. *And why does the Apostle make the Glory of God, even the Father, the ultimate End of it, and not the Glory of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?* Answ. He does not this any farther, than that observed Order (without Inequality in Nature) seems to require; nor does he do this in opposition to the Son and Holy Ghost, so as at all to bar or exclude their joint Interest and Share

in the Glory, as Persons in the same Deity, tho' not the Father.

(7.) We are come to the seventh Argument for the Divinity of Christ, which our Author thought fit to mention, the holy Ordinance of Baptism, always reckon'd an important Part of Christian Worship, wherein Homage is particularly paid to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as in the Business of our Salvation, acting under distinct Characters, and condescending to assume distinct Offices. And whereas I took notice, that the Form of Administration has been always observ'd with great care in the Church, as signifying the peculiar Faith of Christians, and a solemn Covenant Transaction, &c. the Persons baptiz'd, recognizing their joint Interest, do professedly dedicate and devote themselves to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c. He thinks *he is under no Obligation to deny it, confessing, that this, or somewhat of this nature, seems to be the design of the Words.* This being agreed, I need not quarrel with him about what led him to express himself in the way that he did, from 1 Cor. i. 12, 13, 14, 15. that to baptize in the Name of another, imports the entring him into that Religion, of which he is the Founder, or primary Teacher. This, he adds, Mr. Moore has nothing to say to: As if I apprehended it to be unanswerable, because I thought it very little to the Purpose. The truth is, I do not well understand his meaning in the Expression, or how he infers what he seems to aim at from this Place. The Apostle condemning the Divisions that were at Corinth, says, *Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucify'd for you? or were you baptized in the Name of Paul? I thank God, that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say, that I had baptized in my own Name.* Intimating, that they could not be rightfully baptized in the Name of any other but him, who was their rightful Owner and Lord; that Christ having been crucify'd for them, and having redeem'd and bought them with the Price of his own

own Blood, they were under a certain and everlasting Obligation, to devote and dedicate themselves to his Service and Glory, and not to any other, who had no such Right to challenge this. As for himself, tho' he were an infallible Teacher of Christ's Religion, yet he could not, without Impiety, have presum'd to baptize in his own Name. When therefore our Author tells us, *To baptize in the Name of another, plainly there signifies the making Persons his Disciples; and accordingly the Import of the Baptismal Form, that Men thereby are made the Disciples of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:* It may be admitted in this true Sense, (intended in the Words of Baptism) That Men professedly dedicating and devoting themselves to the Service and Glory of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whose they are, by an acknowledg'd Right, do engage to live suitably, according to the Gospel, as the certain Rule of their Faith and Practice. Disciples are to be made for him alone, and to be baptized into his Name, whose own the Sheep are; but that any are allow'd to make Disciples, and to baptize in the Name of any, to another Purpose, and in another Sense, I find not.

*T*is altogether needless therefore for him to ask, *And is not the whole Christian Religion a thing great enough to be the Subject-Matter of the Baptismal Form?* I answer, Yes, without doubt, as this imports an absolute Devotion to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the Gospel-Institution; an Homage profess'd to be yielded in Baptism to the Son and Holy Ghost, as well as to the Father. But if something lower and of another kind had been intended by the Baptismal Form, it had been easy for the Scripture so to have express'd it, as to obviate the common Mistake of the Christian World, in such a solemn Ordinance of constant Use and Practice.

OUR Author seems to place some Weight in that the Israelites are said to have been baptized into Moses,

(or, as render'd in our Bibles, *unto Moses*) i Cor. x. 2. for explaining of the Phrase in the Baptismal Form. The truth is, the Expression is not the same with that in the Baptismal Form, and signifies little to the explaining of it; but upon supposition, that 'tis equivalent, and of like import, which yet he does not prove: Besides [*περὶ τὸν Μωϋσῆν*] may be render'd, by Moses, as it is by Beza, and the Geneva Italian Translation; or, as he observes, by the Syriac and Arabick, by the Hand, or by the Ministry of Moses. Thus Acts vii. 53. Who receiv'd the Law [*εἰς διάταξας ἀσύλητον*] by the Disposition or Ministry of Angels; the same seeming to be signify'd by the vulgar Latin, and the French Translation, *in Moysé*, *en Moysé*; or to the same Sense which some give of the Phrase, *unto Moses*, *Moysé Duce*, under the conduct of *Moses*, whom God had given them for a Leader, as a Type of Christ, the great Saviour of his People: so 'tis not unusual for some things to be spoken of the Type, which really and properly belong only to him, who is typify'd and represented. The *Israelites* were to pass through the Wilderness unto *Canaan*, under the conduct of *Moses*; Christ is the great Captain of our Salvation, to lead us safely through this World to Glory in the next: Him God gave ample Testimony to, by the Miracles of the Cloud and *Red Sea*; hence Exod. xix. 9. the Lord said to *Moses*, *I come unto thee in a thick Cloud*,—*that the People may believe thee for ever*; a like Phrase in the Hebrew with what our Author mentions, Exod. xiv. 31. *The People believ'd the Lord, and his Servant Moses, or the Lord speaking by Moses*; which yet methinks can't well be compar'd with that of Christ, John xiv. 1. *Te believe in God, believe also in me*. Ye already believe in God, I require, and 'tis necessary, that ye believe also in me.

But though we should take the Expression, *unto Moses*, to denote, unto the Religion which *Moses* taught, and was the Minister of, as *Moses* is sometime

times put for the Law of *Moses*, *Act*s xv. 21. I see not that any thing more can be meant, than that the *Israelites* being enter'd by Baptism into the Religion, which God gave by *Moses*, they thereby became consecrate and devoted to the alone Service and Worship of *Jehovah*, their Redeemer: Nor were they by this dedicated to the Service and Honour of *Moses*, as Christians, by the Rite of Baptism, come under professed Engagement to live to Christ, as consecrate and devoted to his Will and Glory: I only add, it had been more to the Purpose, if there had been a Form of Baptism, or Circumcision, instituted, to be still solemnly used in the Church of *Israel*, in the Name of God and *Moses*; or to have had the Name of *Moses*, by a settled Ordinance, indifferently and conjunctly with the Name of the Most High, put upon the Professors of the Jewish Religion.

As for the Words, *1 Tim.* v. 21. I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Elect Angels; wherein with great Solemnity the Elect Angels are joined with God and Christ; Will any considerate Person take this to be a parallel Case with that of Baptism? However, our Author thinks the Matter is clear as he stated it, that in a solemn *Act*, other Persons may be joined with the supreme God, and the Expression be used as indifferently concerning them, as in the Baptismal Form, concerning the three Persons mentioned in it: Let Mr. Moore, says he, try if he can find a Difference. As if any body could be at a loss to find, that a solemn Charge given to a Minister, in the presence of proper Witnesses, who are strict Observers of his Conduct, and therefore may be indifferently mention'd in that quality, is a very different thing from a solemn *Act* of Religion, or Ordinance of Divine Worship, expressing the most entire Subjection and Devotedness, refer'd indifferently to Three, jointly mention'd, as the proper Object of it. And whereas he adds, *Besides I shewed from the very Institution, that our*

Saviour asserts his Authority was given him, and consequently it must be inferior to that of the Giver: I answer, That when Christ Jesus says, Mat. xxviii. 18, 19. All Power is given unto me; go ye therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them, &c. he mentions this Power as the ground of sending his Apostles forth on this Design, and not as the direct and only Reason of baptizing in his Name: though considering his Claim as Creator and Redeemer, he might very well alledge the Authority given him as Mediator, to demand the acknowledgment of his Right; nor does the Father's Grant, or Cession of Power to him, as Mediator, to be sole Administrator of the Mediatorial Kingdom, at all prejudice, but rather recommend his antecedent Right, as God over all. And so 'tis farther here to be remark'd, that we argue not for the Divinity of Christ, meerly from the Form of Baptism, which yet is of great Weight; but in conjunction with, and consonant to many other plain and certain Proofs, which we find of it in the Scriptures, and which give light to this.

(8.) THE last Argument for the Deity of Christ, which our Author took notice of, is taken from Phil. ii. 5, 6, 7. *Let this Mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the Form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no Reputation, and took upon him the Form of a Servant.* He pleases himself here with a critical Observation upon the Word [but] in the beginning of the seventh Verse, as an Argument that the Apostle's Meaning is not justly express'd in our Translation: That the Words might run smooth, it should have been [yet.] Now to justify the Sense, I observ'd, that the [αλλα] may be render'd [yet] as in 1 Cor. viii. 6. our Author himself renders it; or if it be render'd [but] the plain Meaning is, as the Learned Dr. Hammond (of sufficient critical Skill in these Matters) judges, 'He was God, and without any injury equal to his Father; but for all this, ' or

' or notwithstanding this, he vilified himself,' &c.
 Thus our Translators, secure of the Sense in both Texts, as sufficiently manifest to any prudent Reader, content themselves to render it [but.] However, our Author thinks it worth while farther to refine upon this Criticism, and *questions whether* [ἄλλα] can be render'd [yet,] unless when 'tis a Redditive to [εἰ, or εἴης] or some such word, challenging me to produce an Example, where [ἄλλα] alone, as is the Case in Phil. ii. 7. does ever signify [yet,] supposing in the mean time this part of his Answer to stand in its full Strength. If then I shew that it does, I hope it will satisfy. And tho I think no great weight is to be laid upon his Remark, and that it is but precarious; yet to humour him, I would take notice, that I have observed, not only in several of the best Greek Writers, but also in several places of the LXX's Translation, and of the New Testament, that [ἄλλα] is to be constructed to this Sense, and render'd accordingly, tho neither [εἰ, nor εἴης] go before. For instance, 1 Sam. xv. 30. Saul said, [ἵδε γένη με, ἀλλὰ δόξασίν με] I have sinned, yet honour me now, I pray thee, before the Elders of my People. Rom. v. 13, 14. For until the Law, Sin was in the World, but Sin is not imputed where there is no Law, [αλλ' εἴβασιν οὐ δικάιος] nevertheless, Death reigned from Adam to Moses. 1 Cor. viii. 7. [αλλ' εἰν εὐ πάτερ οὐ γνῶσις] Howbeit, there is not in all that Knowledge. Rev. ii. 4, 14, 20. [αλλ' εἰχε κατέστη] nevertheless, notwithstanding, I have somewhat against thee. Since then the words run smooth, and the Sense is clear in this Construction, the main Difficulty objected against our Translation of the words [ὑπὸ αρπαγῆς ιησοῦν] He thought it no Robbery, is removed; the only Argument, which, in Dr. Hammond's account, made another Interpretation any way probable. As for Heliodorus, whose Authority is urged against our Translation, it can at last signify little or nothing, when 'tis manifest he does not make use of the same Phrase,

Phrase, but [*ἀρπαγμα ποτεῖ*,] and [*ἐποίησις*,] and once [*ἀρπαγμα ἵνεται*] which yet well agrees with the Supposition, that [*ἀρπαγμός*] properly signifies the *Act of Robbery*, and [*ἀρπαγμα*] the *Prey, or Purchase of Robbery*: and this according to the Genius and common Use of the Greek Language, which ordinarily makes this distinction between the Verbals formed and terminated in this manner, when both are in use; which will easily appear in a great number and variety of Examples IIII. Nor do I see but the Authority of Athanasius, Basil, &c. who were such Masters of the Greek Language, and expound the Phrase to the same Sense with our Translation, deserves as much regard as that of Heliodorus, (if he had turned it to another Sense, as in truth he does not) tho they wrote since the Nicene Council. Nor does the vulgar Latin disagree with this *, or Tertullian †, against whom there is not that Exception, known to be well conversant in the Greek Writers, and industriously to imitate them.

|| Indeed the other rendring is so harsh and unnatu-

III A few Instances, among a Multitude I have mark'd, may shew this to the Reader. [*ἀπόστολος*] The Punishment which is inflicted; [*κολακεύσις*] Punishing, or the Act of inflicting Punishment. [*ἰδιότητα*] Merces, the Thing bought; [*ἀγορασμός*] the Act of Buying. [*σέβασμον*] Numen, the thing worshipped; [*πελασμός*] the Act of Adoration. [*ἀθροισμός*] the Congregation, or Company gather'd; [*ἀρχαίστυμα*] the congregating, or gathering of it. [*τεραύνεσμα*] what is laid up as a Treasure. [*τεραύνεσμός*] the laying up in Treasure. [*εἰναρκεύσιος*] that which is to propiate; [*εἰναρκεύσιος*] the Act of propitiating. [*σιωγμα, διωγμός, ἀσπάσμα, δοματιον, λαζισμα, λησμός*] &c.

* *Qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est, esse se æqualem Deo.*

† *Et Sermo enim Deus, qui in effigie Dei constitutus, non rapinam æstimavit pariari Deo. In lib. de Resur. Carnis, cap. 6.*

|| If [*ἱππαγμός*] should yet be thought to signify Rapine, both in the active and passive Sense, as Rapina in the Latin; our Translation must be allow'd to be just and warrantable, nor to be confuted from the Context, where nothing appears to oblige to a different Construction.

ral, that 'tis with difficulty and apparent violence that the Expression is drawn to say, *he did not arrogate, or assume by violence, he did not covet earnestly, or snatch at, &c.* There is a difference, says Dr. Hammon, between *assuming* and *thinking*, and consequently [ινεσαι] to think, being joined with [ιεπαγμων] Rapine, must signify to think or count it a Rapine, or an Injury, (which is very distant from boasting of it as a Prize, triumphing or assuming) and that is the Notion, that the ordinary Interpretation gives of it; thus he therefore paraphrases the words, Who being truly God, thought it no Encroachment to be in Equality with his Father. And notes, that little would be gained to the Cause of the Photinians and Arians, tho' the Sense of this Phrase should be mistaken.' Hence it comes to pass that Writers on our side, secure of their Point even from this Text, (and thinking but little Injury to be done to the Cause in the main, tho' declining a nicer Debate about the Phrase, they should even admit the other Sense) do insist upon such an Interpretation, as gives no advantage to them, who oppose the Deity of Christ, and his Equality with the Father. This I shew'd by a Quotation from the excellent Dr. Tillotson; upon which our Author says, *Mr. Moore seems to aim at an Argument from his being here said to be in the Form of God: but as he has not very clearly put it together, I shall content myself with referring the Reader to Dr. Whitby.* The truth is, I was content to urge and leave the Argument as I found it, in the Archbishop's own words, without altering the Expression or Method *; assur'd that the impartial Reader would not think him uncapable of putting the Argument well enough together, whatever be our Author's opinion about it.

* Works fol. p. 541.

I confess I was never satisfy'd with *Grotius's Account*, of our Lord's *being in the Form of God*, as signifying his Power of working Miracles; nor altogether with Dr. *Whitby's*, who understands by it that glorious Form, in which God on his Throne is represented, that Majesty in which he is said to appear in Scripture, and in which the *Logos*, or the Word, did shew himself of old to *Moses* and the Patriarchs: tho I think this to be peculiar and appropriate to the Most High, and that no created Angel ever assumed or appeared in this Glory; and can admit what the Doctor adds, 'It appears that this Nature, in which Christ appeared before his Conception in the Virgin's Womb, must be Divine; for what other Nature could appear in the Form of God, and challenge to itself the Glory, which by the Jews was still esteemed a certain Indication of the Divine Presence, and in the New Testament is stiled the *Glory of the Father*. Especially if we consider, that He who thus appeared hath the communicable Name *Jehovah* so oft ascribed to him, is stiled the *Judge of the whole Earth*, and either challengeth to himself the Divine Attributes and Offices, or never doth refuse them, when they are offer'd to him by Men.'

His being in the Form of God, stands manifestly opposed to his *taking upon him the Form of a Servant*, and his *being made in the Likeness of Men* *. If then these latter Expressions denote his being truly a Man, and a Servant, as there appears no reason at all to doubt; how can the former be esteemed to signify

* So Tertullian argued contr. *Marcion*, lib. 5. cap. 20. *Æque non erit Deus Christus verè, si nec Homo vere fuit in effigie hominis constitutus* — *Quod si in effigie & imagine, qua filius Patris verè Dei prædicatus est, etiam in effigie & imagine hominis, qua filius hominis, vere hominem inventum.*

less, than his being truly and really God ? Had he been but a Creature, he would be ever, by necessity of Nature, a Servant of God, however dignify'd by him, or to whatsoever State of Exaltation and Glory advanced. But 'tis from the Dignity of Christ's Person that the Apostle takes his Rise, to set forth his matchless and amazing Condescension, in his Incarnation, Obedience, and Sufferings, and to commend his Humility, as a Pattern for our Imitation. Yet it seems but an odd sort of Argument, to persuade us to be humble by Christ's Example, and to be of the same mind with him, who being but a Creature, or absolutely inferior to God, was pleased not to affect, or arrogate to himself, an Equality with God.

OUR Author having done with what I had to say in defence of the Arguments, which, it seems, my Friends use to alledge for the Deity of Christ; is in some hope, that his Reader will be so candid and complaisant, as to take his word for it, that his Answers were substantial, and that I had little to reply to them. I can say, I have endeavour'd fairly to examine his Answers and Exceptions, without attempting to put harsh and foreign Interpretations upon Holy Scripture, or any other than what I take to be the true and intended Meaning. Nor am I ashamed to have the Generality of the Pious and Learned for my Friends in a Cause, whose Strength lies not in Management and Artifice, but plain Argument, and clear Scripture-Declarations.

WHETHER what he proceeds to alledge, in proof of his own Scheme, be more substantial than his Answers, we are now to consider.

HIS first and principal Argument, is, *1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6. We know that an Idol is nothing in the World, and that there is none other God but one ; for though there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or in*

Earth, (as there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we for him ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. Now since so great stress lies upon this Text, and that if this fails, there's scarce any other alledg'd so specious and plausible in favour of his Opinion ; I am willing carefully to enquire how he makes out his Proof from it. Nor do I find upon a Review, that I passed any thing which I thought to be of moment in the Letter upon this Head. He there says, that the Apostle is here purposely asserting the Unity of the Godhead, in opposition to such Beings as might in a looser Sense have that Appellation given to them. Therefore here, if any where, he would most plainly tell us who this one God is. Well, let this be granted : if what this Gentleman asserts be true, that the Father alone is the one God, and the plain Assertion here is, that there is none other God but one, what must be infer'd, but that in what Rank of Being soever Christ is placed, he cannot be called or owned to be God in a proper, but only in a looser Sense ? And what is then become of the Pretence of Christ's true and proper Divinity, that he is God by Nature, &c. which serves to amuse a little while ? Is it come to this, that tho the Appellation may be given him on some account or other, in a looser way of speaking ; yet in truth and reality he is not God at all, nor can be properly so called ? Yet nothing is plainer in Scripture, than that He is both absolutely called God, and hath the Attributes, Works, and Worship of God given to him.

WHEN with Transport he asked, *Can any Mortal give a reason, why if the Apostle had been of the mind of your severe Censurers, he should not have express'd himself thus, But to us there is but one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ?* I answer'd plainly, that it was not the Apostle's Design here, nor did the Subject he was upon oblige him to give an account of the Mystery of

of the Trinity, nor was he under any necessity of representing the Differences or distinct Relations conceivable in the Divine Nature. He replies, *The Apostle was not designing to give an account of any Mystery at all, but was speaking of the Unity of God.* Very well! no wonder then, tho he were of our mind, that he speaks only of the Unity, and not of a Mystery he had no occasion or design there to give account of. Yet I suppose he will not deny that there is any thing of Mystery, or what is beyond our present Knowledge, in the Divine Nature. *Certainly, says he, nothing is inconceivable, if this be not, that the same Nature and Essence shall differ from, or be related to itself.* But who says this? Where does he find this to be our Sense? What tho the same Essence differs not from itself, is it therefore impossible to conceive that there may be some Differences in the same Nature? The Nature or Essence of the rational Soul is one and the same, and differs not from itself; yet it is not inconceivable that Understanding and Will should differ from, and relate to each other, in the same Soul. And he cannot prove that there are not as true, and more considerable Differences in the Divine Nature, or that they are inconceivable.

He adds, *But there is no other way these Men have of defending themselves, but by always taking their main Hypothesis for granted. See their Course: they assert that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, constitute the One God. We demand where this is asserted in Scripture.* As if we proved not by the plainest and most express Texts of Scripture, that to us there is but One God, that the Father is God, that the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost also, possess'd of the appropriate Titles, Perfections, and Glory of the Divine Nature. But how comes this Proof to be demanded here? 'Tis enough for me in this place, to do the part of a Respondent, and to expect that our Author, as he hath undertaken, prove his Point from the Text under

debate. *Ay!* says he, *we produce plain and express Assertions, that the Father ALONE is the One God.* But pray where are those plain and express Assertions? Not one, that I find, can be produced, which asserts the Father *alone* is God, in opposition to, and exclusion of the Son and the Holy Ghost. That this Text asserts, that there is but One God, we plainly acknowledge, and that the Father is God; but that the Son is not God, it neither says, nor can it be truly infer'd from it. 'Tis certain, that the Scriptures say he is, and in the strongest Terms; and this very Text speaks of him as Lord, in such a manner, as is appropriate to the One God: and we may believe him when he says, *I and my Father are One.*

I took notice, that the thing which the Apostle purposely asserts, as best answering the End he had in view, is, that to us there is but One God, in opposition to the Polytheism of the *Gentiles*, or the Opinion and Worship of many Gods. And his specifying who this One God is, (as our Author would have it) alters not the Case; for that the Father is the one God, nobody doubts, and that emphatically so called, and of prime Consideration in respect of Order, which is no prejudice at all to the Deity of the Son. He adds, *Had the Apostle been of the common Opinion, he would never have confuted the Polytheism of the Gentiles, without obviating the Objection, which Christianity might seem liable to.* But he himself is pleased to tell us, p. 75. that the Apostle is not (here) proving the Christian Principles, but arguing upon them. Indeed, he is not here writing an Apology against the *Gentiles*, or answering the Objections that Christianity might be liable to; but endeavouring to satisfy the Scruples of Christians about eating things sacrificed to Idols. He therefore observes, that an Idol is nothing in the World, has nothing of Divinity in it, so that they had no ground for Apprehension or Fear, no Religious Respect or Veneration being due to it.

Where-

Wherefore he adds, ver. 7 . *Howbeit, there is not in every Man that Knowledge; for some with Conscience of the Idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered unto an Idol, and their Conscience being weak, is defiled.* ‘ * Well-in-formed Christians knew, there was but one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ to be worshipped; the Weak thought there might be some Deaftri or Inferior Lords, to whom some Reverence was due.’

BUT, Is here not manifestly a Snare? He calls them off from many Gods, by assuring them that there is but one God; and this one God, he says, is the Father. And could any one read what he says, without apprehending his Design was, that Christians should believe, that the Father alone is this one God, (but the Apostle does not here say it) and especially when he so carefully distinguishes this one God from Jesus Christ? I answer; We apprehend no more Snare in this, than in addressing our Worship to the Father (for the reason just specify'd) through Jesus Christ, even while we are so far from intending to worship the Father as the alone God, separately and exclusively of the Son and Spirit, that we designedly include, or professedly suppose both Son and Holy Ghost included, in the undivided Object of our Worship, and yet consider Christ Jesus distinctly, or distinguish'd as Mediator. Thus when we speak absolutely of God, or of the Almighty, the Eternal God, tho the Father be more distinctly and in the first place intended, yet without any design of excluding the other Persons, but only all other separate Beings not necessarily in God the Father, that in their own Nature are excluded from Deity, and have no Right to be worshipped; and this is commonly done and understood so as to supersede the Necessity of further Caution.

* Whitchby's Note on 1 Cor. viii. 7.

I suggested, that had the Apostle been of the mind of the Author, must he not have said, Whereas there are many that are called *Gods* and *Lords*, many had in veneration among the deluded Heathen, to us Christians there are but two Gods, one supreme and unoriginated, the other subordinate and inferior, a God also by Office and delegated Power? His Answer is, *Tho the Apostle really expresses this Sense, yet he does it in a much better manner.* Then it seems it was his meaning, that to us Christians there are two Gods, tho he did not think fit to speak out. But I see not how he could more expressly and peremptorily declare the contrary; or how well this was like to obviate the Objection that Christianity would be liable to, with a witness. And pray how does our Author prove that this was the Apostle's Sense, the thing he undertook to do, and which of any thing he ought to do, so apparently contrary to plainest Scripture, to the first and great Commandment, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me;* so contrary to the Design of the Gospel, to establish the Belief and Worship of the one only true God, in opposition to all who by Nature are no Gods? Instead of this, he is so good-natur'd, as for my sake to transcribe at large out of the Learned Mr. Joseph Mede, what he had said upon this Text; which, I can assure him, I perused and consider'd many Years since, but saw little occasion to take notice of in my Defence, tho he be so charm'd with it, as fancying it to cast a more favourable Aspect upon his beloved Opinion. However, it seems not to me, upon a fair and reasonable Construction, such as himself, 'tis likely, intended, or would admit as in the common Faith, to be inconsistent herewith. And tho he fancies the Apostle to allude to superior and inferior Deities in the Heathen Theology, and the Allusion to be passing elegant; yet it appears not that even the Heathen did assert, that there were many sovereign or supreme independent Gods, or that

that the *Dii Cœlestes* were all such. Nor does the Apostle say there are Gods many, and Demons many; or sovereign Deities many, and inferior Deities many; but indifferently Gods many, and Lords many, possibly without design to specify different kinds of Deities, but such, whether called Gods or Lords, as they made the Object of their Worship. However this be, neither our Author, nor Mr. Mede for him, make out any clear or certain Proof of this, that to us Christians there are two Gods.

THE Apostle's saying, *To us there is but one God*, no more excludes Christ from being God with his Father, the God of Christians, than by adding, *There is but one Lord*, excludes the Father from being the Lord of Christians. And I took notice that Dr. Whitby quotes *Origen* and *Novatian* arguing in the same manner from this Text *. I need not here divert with the Author to the Consideration of the private Sentiments, and particular Explications of those Writers in relation to the Doctrine of the Trinity, which is not the Subject of our present Debate. It suffices that they argued after this manner, which is what the Doctor cited them for. He gives for Answer, that his saying there is but one Lord, *excludes the Father from being Lord in that Sense*, in which he speaks of Christ as such; for he evidently speaks of him as Lord in a subordinate Sense: so his speaking of one God, the Father, *excludes Christ from being the one God*. Methinks, he should have at least added, to compleat the *Apostolis*, in that Sense, In which he speaks of the Father as such; and the Remark then would have amounted to more than this, That Christ is not the one God in the Person of the Father, or under that Character and Consideration; nor do we suppose, that Christ is the Father. And how does it appear,

* But may refer to Dr. Bull's Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. 2. Cap. 9, 10. Dr. Waterl. Def. of Quer. p. 13, 14, &c.

that

that the Father's being the one God does exclude Christ from Deity, any more than Christ's being the one Lord, excludes the Father from Lordship? If Christ's being the one Lord, must not here be taken in the strict exclusive Sense, what necessity for us to understand the Father's being the one God in that Sense, except we take the thing in question for granted, without being proved?

Deut. vi. 4. Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. *Joh. xx. 28. Thomas said to Christ, My Lord and my God.* *Isa. xliii. 11. I am the Lord, and beside me there is no Saviour.* The Father is one Lord, and the only Saviour, yet Christ is not excluded. No, says our Author, *besides the Father there is no co-ordinate Saviour, but subordinate Saviours there may be; as Neh. ix. 7. and Tit. iii. 4, 5, 6. God our Saviour saves us thro Jesus Christ our Saviour.* If he be in earnest, and seeks not by this to perplex the Minds of the Unwary, I need only observe, that a Man takes him for his Lord and Saviour in the strict and most proper Sense, unto whom he absolutely resigns and devotes himself, and whom he trusts with his everlasting Concerns, as able to save unto the uttermost. Compare *Isa. xlv. 21, 22, 23.* apply'd to Christ, *Rom. xiv. 9, 10, 11. There is no God else beside me, a Saviour, there is none beside me. Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the Ends of the Earth, for I am God, and there is none else. I have sworn by myself, that unto me every Knee shall bow, and every Tongue shall swear.* The Father and Son are not co-ordinate Lords, and co-ordinate Saviours, as of separate Natures, and divided Powers; but being of one Nature and Perfection, they are one in the Work of Salvation, tho acting under a distinct Character, and in distinct Offices. Nor is there any difficulty in saying, that God or the Father doth save us thro Christ the Mediator, or that as Mediator he is subordinate to the Father. Nor did I forget myself, in the Answer I gave to what he urged, *that the Father*

ther is called the one God in contradistinction to Jesus Christ: saying that the Apostle speaks of Christ under another Character, as in our Nature ordain'd a Mediator. He adds, *What then is become of all his arguing before? If this be the meaning of his being the one Lord, can the Father be suppos'd to be Lord in any such Sense? &c.* As if the Father's Lordship were a separate and divided thing from the Lordship of the Son, or the Son did lose or relinquish his Rights as God, by becoming, or taking upon him the Office of a Mediator in our Nature, and therein exercising a subordinate Power. The truth is, the Apostle here speaks of him as the one Lord of Christians, both as the proper Object of their Religious Worship with the Father, and also as by whom all things subsist and are now administer'd. Not only by him are all things, which come from the Father to us, and thro whom alone we find Access to him, which can be but part of the Meaning; but he is such a one Lord, as by whom all things were created and made, Eph. iii. 9. John i. 3. *All things that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth.* Col. i. 16. *And without him was not any thing made that was made.* Is it the distinguishing Character of the Most High, that *all things were made by him, and for him?* Heb. ii. 10. Rom. xi. 36. 'Tis asserted of this one Lord, *All things were created by him, and for him,* Col. i. 16. And he does *uphold all things by the Word of his Power,* Heb. i. 3. The Father and Son appear undivided in Power and Operation, for *what things soever the Father doth, these also doth the Son likewise,* Joh. v. 19. Nor is it any Diminution of the Honour of his Lordship, that by Dispensation, and by the Father's Will, the sole Administration of things in the Kingdom of Grace is left in his hands.

As for his referring me to Par. 2. p. 42, 43. for Answer to what was quoted from Dr. Whitby, I find nothing there deserving notice, but what has been already consider'd; as hath also been what he next

urges as a Proof, that Christ cannot be the one God, *1 Tim. ii. 5.* *There is one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus;* saying, *The Question is, whether the one God is not contradicting to the Mediator?* And what Absurdity in this, since the Apostle speaks of the *MAN Christ Jesus?* He again asks, *Is the Mediator a Mediator to himself?* And why may not the *Man Christ* be a Mediator with God? Or why should he be thought less capable of adjusting the Difference between God and Men, for having the Fullness of the Deity dwelling in him, or being inseparably united to the Word, being as a Day's-Man, that takes hold of both? But these things have been spoken to before.

UPON my using that Expression of the Fullness of the Deity dwelling in Christ, our Author is forward to give his Sense of the Text (it seems) I hinted at, *Col. ii. 9.* Well, let it then come out. *I do not think then that by bodily, the Apostle means,* in his human Nature. And what then? I did not so much as mention the word *bodily*, much less make any Argument from it. Suppose then *bodily* should here signify really or substantially: if the Godhead be really and substantially in him, it is enough; and what hinders, but if this Fullness dwell in the *Man Christ*, it may dwell in human Nature? especially if his great Discovery be right, that the Fullness of the Godhead imports but the *Blessings* that God doth communicate and fill with. And when he can prove from Scripture, that the *Godhead* is put for *Gifts* and *Blessings*, and that [δέσποιν] may not signify Deity or the divine Nature, as well as [ἀνθρώπιν] Humanity or human Nature, his Interpretation may be further consider'd. In the mean time, Dr. Whitby's Account of this Text may possibly be as edifying to the Reader, if he please to consult it, as that of others, who find the Expression in *Eph. iii. 19.* to differ from this, and

and to be construed to a very different Meaning : But enough of this.

As for his next Argument, *Eph. iv. 6.* We deny not that the Father is one God over or above all, yet however find that this Title, [ο δὲν μείζων τοῖς] God over or above all, is not so peculiar to the Father, but that the same is given also to the Son, *Rom. ix. 5.* We deny not, that there is one, who is both one God, and the Father. *All the three Persons*, says he, *are distinctly mention'd, but the Godhead is peculiarly attributed to the Father; and he, as distinguish'd from the other Persons, is said to be the one God.* If by the Godhead's being peculiarly attributed to the Father, he mean that the Father is called the one God peculiarly, or by way of Emphasis, as first in order, this may be allow'd even in distinction from, but not in opposition to, or exclusion of the other Persons ; even as there is one Lord, and one Spirit distinguish'd from the Father, but not so as to exclude him from Lordship, or from being Spirit. They are indeed distinguish'd, so as not to be God the Father ; but that they are distinguish'd upon the account, or in respect of Godhead, so as to be only exalted Creatures, or Beings separate, and of a different nature from the Father, appears not at all from the Text, and still remains to be proved. His confident saying, *Certainly the Text is very full to the purpose, &c.* may possibly pass with such as are willing to take it for granted, but will signify little with them that look for certain Proof. Nor can I find this any farther made out, or the Answer which I gave disprov'd by the Questions he offers by way of Reply ; *Is this answering of Arguments? Is this a dealing fairly and candidly with the Scriptures?* If I had wronged them, he might have shewn fairly and candidly wherein. *Does not this Answer go entirely upon the Supposition, that the three Persons are the one God?* And must we run round in a Circle without end ? If I had done this, I should but have follow'd his Exam-

ple; and I am forced to repeat Answers to his often repeating the same thing, but I innocently thought he had undertaken, by clear Argument from this Text, to overthrow my Supposition, and evince the Truth of his own. Instead of this, he adds, *Let Mr. Moore now prove that I mistake the Apostle's Assertion.* As if I was concern'd in the Sense, he thought for his turn to put upon the Apostle's Assertion, any farther than to shew, that it contain'd not a certain and sufficient Argument against the Deity of Christ, which we give clear and abundant Proof of from other Scriptures: and this indeed is to prove that he mistakes the Sense.

WHAT has been offered and observed, may easily be apply'd to *John xvii. 3.* *This is Life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* Whence he argued, *If the Father, to whom Christ there speaks, as distinguish'd from Christ whom he sent, be the only true God, how can Christ be the only true God also?* I said, because Christ and the Father are one. He then asks, *What does he mean by their being one?* I answer, One in Nature and Perfection, as well as Design. One in respect of Deity, not one Person. *Well then,* he goes on, *was the Person of the Father the only true God, as distinguish'd from Jesus Christ?* I answer, The Person of the Father is indeed there distinguish'd from the Person of the Son, and he is said to be *the only true God*; and there is no doubt but he is, and may be justly so stiled, which is all that appears, and can be proved from the Text. But it is not there said, that the Father *only* is the true God; nor does it appear, that he is there called the only true God, on the score, or upon the account of his being distinguish'd from Christ, in opposition to the Son, and in a Sense exclusive of him.

I said, Nor can these words be reasonably supposed to exclude him from a true Divinity, who is in

in Scripture stiled [ὁ ἀλητὸς θεός] *The true God*, 1 Joh. v. 20. referring to Dr. *Whitby* on the place, who assigns substantial Reasons for understanding it of Jesus Christ. His Reply is, *This is answer'd*, Part 2. p. 33. where instead of an Answer, I find only an obscure Passage *, which he calls Mr. *Baxter's* Explication of the Text, who is well known to be for Christ's being *true God*. But neither he, nor Mr. *Baxter* for him, in the Passage quoted, make answer to the Doctor's Reasons. And it is one thing to put this, or the other Sense upon a Text, and another to shew by convincing Reasons, that it ought to be understood in that Sense.

I added, True therefore is the Gloss of *Grotius*, that he is stiled the only true God, in exclusion of those whom the false Persuasion of the *Gentiles* had introduced, not so as to exclude the other Persons. *But*, says he, *I see no reason for this*. *The word alone, seems to me to exclude all Persons whatever from being the true God, co-ordinate with the Father*. Which may be admitted in reference to such Persons as are of a separate Substance, divided from the Father; but cannot be true of such as are in necessary conjunction with him, and together Partakers of the same undivided Essence. However, I shew'd that the word *only*, or *alone*, is frequently apply'd to God in the Old Testament, in opposition to Idols or false Gods. Deut. xxxii. 12. [καὶ εἷς μόνος] *The Lord alone did lead them*, or *the Lord only was their Guide, and there was no strange God with them* [θεός ἀλλότριος] Isa. xliii. 11, 12. *I am the Lord, and beside me there is no Saviour; there was no strange God among you*, [εἰς ἦν ἀλλότριος] *And yet the Angel, in whom his Name was, went with them, and saved them*, Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. Isa. lxiii. 9. Now Christ Jesus cannot be excluded as *strange and alien*

* *Baxter's Saint's Rest, Part 1. Chap. 4. Sect. 6.*

to the Father, who is so nearly and necessarily related to him as his *own Son*, who is One with him ; so as whosoever hath seen him, hath seen the Father also, not only in the Bosom of the Father, but so intimately united, as that he is in the Father, and the Father in him ; and whosoever honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father.

NOR does his mentioning here, *Co-ordinate Persons with the Father*, as excluded, answer the Design of those Texts, the plain meaning of which is, to exclude all strange Gods, whether sovereign or subordinate, superior or inferior, as having no Right to Divine Honour or Religious Worship, being excluded from true Deity, and by Nature no Gods ; which is not the Case of our Blessed Saviour. Nor can a sufficient Argument be drawn from this Text, for the excluding of Christ from true Deity, while another sufficient Reason may be given, for calling the Father here the only true God, without that Supposition.

INDEED [*μόνος*] in particular, and other like Terms of Exclusion in general, must often be understood, not absolutely and in the utmost Rigour, but with certain Exceptions, which good Sense, and the Circumstances of the Place, direct and determine to. *John viii. 9. Jesus was left alone, and the Woman in the midst, [κατέστη μόνο] her Accusers being gone. Luke ix. 36. Jesus was found alone, [ἦγεται μόνος] Moses and Elias being departed, tho his three Disciples were still with him. Isa. xliv. 24. Jehovah stretch'd forth the Heavens alone ; yet the Word was then with him, and so far concern'd in the Operation, as nothing was done without him, Prov. viii. 27. Heb. i. 2, 3. Thus 1 Cor. ii. 2. I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucify'd.* Surely he designed not to exclude all other Knowledge. No wonder then that I saw not sufficient reason, why Rom. xvi. 27. *To God only wise, and Rev.*

xv. 4. *Thou only art holy*; Christ should be thought to be excluded.

To the former, he says, *So that the Apostle is to be understood, as ascribing Glory to Christ thro Christ*. As if God could not be *only wise*, except his *Word* and *Wisdom* be excluded, because Glory is given to him thro the Mediation of the Man Christ Jesus. Nor is it so undoubtedly certain, that Christ is not intended, *Jude ver. 25. To the only wise God, our Saviour*.

As to the latter, tho it should be spoken directly of the Father, there appears no necessity of excluding the *Son*, who has the Character of *holy* so often given him. I am therefore little concerned, *tho Bishop Pearson acknowledges the Title [misread as] Almighty, to belong to the Father, and never to be attributed to the Son*. However, I observ'd, that Christ seems both here, and *Rev. i. 8.* (as Dr. *Hammond* also judges) to be stiled *the Almighty*. 'Tis he that is spoken of in the Context; and the other part of the Description there made of him, is unquestionably claimed by him, *ver. 11, 17.* and *chap. xxii. 13.* mention'd as the proper Character of the Lord of Hosts, *Isa. xliv. 6.* Here for Answer he sends me to *Part 1. p. 14.* where he thinks it enough to say, *'Tis the Father that calls himself the Almighty, ver. 8. the Lord which is, and which was, and which is to come; and this is the only Title which is given to the Father, ver. 4. in contradistinction to Jesus Christ, ver. 5.* But it follows not, that, because the Father and Christ are spoken of distinctly, the Father must have a Title and Character given him in contradistinction to the Son, or such an one as does not belong to the Son; especially when the Son, as here, *ver. 5.* is distinguish'd by his peculiar Characters, as the First-begotten from the Dead, &c.

AND since Christ is undoubtedly spoken of in the following Verses, and particularly *ver. 7.* and the after Description manifestly belongs to him; there appears no other reason or necessity, why we should

not

not understand ver. 8. as spoken of him, but that our Author's Opinion cannot so conveniently allow him the Character he there claims *. He seems willing also, for the same reason, to explain away from him what he challenges to himself, in the words of the Lord of Hosts, as a Mark of his being the only true God, Isa. xliv. 6. therefore says, *Since Christ is spoken of as Mediator, where he is called the first and the last, I think we may justly conclude, that no more is meant, than that he is the only Mediator.* One would think a Man pretty hard put to it, that is forced upon such a Shift. What Occasion or Necessity appears here for Christ to say, or for us to understand him as saying, *I am the first and last Mediator?* Or do we find him to say this any where else, upon any occasion? Somewhat strange! that he should usurp the Title which so apparently belongs to the Great God, and is so expressly assum'd by him, and this without necessary guard, or mark of Difference. Nor is every thing that is predicated of the Mediator, presently to be understood to belong to him merely as such, or only under that Consideration; but rather this (as many other things) is spoken directly of his Person, as fitly qualify'd for such an Office. And how can it be *justly concluded*, that *no more* is intended? What can necessitate such a Restriction? when the words in themselves, and in the place whence they are taken, are apparently of a more extensive Import. Besides, he does not only say, *I am the first and the last;* but as ver. 11. compar'd with Chap. xxii. 13. *I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the Ending,* [$\alpha\omega\chi\eta\ \eta\tau\alpha\oslash$] the proper Characters of the Almighty, and challeng'd by him, ver. 8. manifestly signifying more than *I am the*

* The Learned Dr. Waterland says, All the Antients, both before and after the Council of Nice, understand this of God the Son. Serm. p. 227.

first and last Mediator, (if this be at all meant) since *All things were created by him, and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist,* Col. i. 16, 17. This is he, that is the Subject of the Predication, if that must be taken to determine the Sense. He added, as another Reason why the Father alone is spoken of in this Rev. xv. 4. (and if he be, our Cause is no way prejudiced) that the Song itself is called, The Song of Moses and the Lamb ; which must import, that Moses and the Lamb sing it, and thus praise him, who alone is holy. And why must it import this? What unavoidable Necessity? Why may it not import, as Dr. Hammond expresses it, They sung to Christ the same Song (or another after that Pattern) that Moses had done upon the Victory and Deliverance out of Egypt? The rather, for that we find, as I observ'd, that in the other Songs of this Book, instead of the Lamb's singing, both Angels and Saints make him the Subject of their Songs, and address their Songs to him, and that jointly with the Father. But does Mr. Moore find that the Songs of that nature are called the Songs of Moses and the Lamb? I answer; I find not the Expression any where else, whence I might more certainly conclude what this must here import, nor it may be was there a like occasion to use it; but to me it seems much more reasonable to understand it in the Sense I have given, nor do I find he can disprove it. If yet we should take it in the Sense he is willing to impose upon it, what would it amount to more, than that the Man Christ Jesus offer'd Prayer with Thanksgiving to the Father, which we deny not? As in Job. xvii. which has been under consideration; where, as I suggested, if the word Father should be taken, not in the strict relative Sense, but as comprising the Godhead, as it seems elsewhere sometime to do, and if we consider Christ as the Messiah, the Man Christ, making this Prayer, the Sense will be clear. This our Author would

have to pass for a Shift, because I produced not any place of this nature. I did indeed but suggest it, there being no occasion to insist upon it, the Text having been otherwise cleared, and the true Sense of it accounted for, which yet is not inconsistent with this; nor do I see any Absurdity in taking *Father* to signify this, as here: so 1 Pet. i. 17. 1 Cor. xv 24. and some other places.

WE have thus seen the Strength of our Author's Arguments and Exceptions against the Deity of Christ, in the strict and proper Sense, especially from two or three Texts. The Considerate and Impartial may judge of what moment they are, set in the Balance, and compared with those numerous, and to appearance very plain Declarations of Holy Scripture for it; ascribing the most Divine Characters to him, and demanding for him our warmest Affections, and highest Service.

BUT tho Christ differ not from the Father in respect of Deity, yet the Father is greater than he, as Man and Mediator, and also consider'd relatively, as second among the Divine Persons. Our Author asks, *What does he mean by He, the Subject of the Relation? Is he a Being, or no Being? If he be a Being, must it not be a distinct Being from that to which it is related?* I answer; The Son is a distinct Person from the Father, and stands related to him as such, without being of a different Nature or Deity. And as this Scripture-Discovery is sufficiently plain, there seems not to be any necessity for nicer Explications in order to our Duty and Salvation, or reason to perplex ourselves about Difficulties that do not affect it, and which are above the reach of our Understanding. In what Sense a distinct Person may be accounted a distinct Being or not, was before particularly stated and consider'd; so that what he talks about Contradictions, may serve for Flourish and Amusement, but little affects the Case. *Can, says he, the same Being be*

be a Father to itself, or a Son to itself? As if we were at all concerned in such Reasoning and Consequences, who say not that the Godhead is the Father, but in the same undivided Godhead, consider the distinct Persons of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; reserving to the Father a Priority of Order, as first of the Three.

I observ'd, a Father is always consider'd in that relation as above his Son, and yet his Son not inferior to him, in the Nature, Properties, and Endowments of a Man; much less is a Son of one kind and nature, and a Father of another. *This, he thinks, may be turned the other way, because if God begets a Son, whose Essence is distinct (as among Men) and whose Nature, Properties, and Endowments are exactly alike and equal to his own, there will of necessity be two supreme Gods; which is impossible.* Since therefore this is impossible, and to us there is but one God, we suppose if God has a Son, a natural and proper Son, who must be God as well as his Father, that his Essence is not distinct as among Men, that he subsists (tho under some distinct Consideration) in the same undivided Essence, or partakes of the same Divine Nature. But our Author's Inference is, *that it being impossible that God should have thus a Son in nature equal to himself, this must be understood in a different Sense, and that the Relation is not to be strained to a Resemblance of that common among us, in every Point.* But tho it should not be strained to a Resemblance in every Point, methinks what belongs most properly to the Nature of a true and proper Son, or what is essential to the natural Relation, shou'd not be deny'd him, so as he shou'd be quite of a different Kind and Nature from his own Father: *But is it not said of Adam, of good Men, of Angels, that they are Sons of God?* 'Tis true, they are so, as his Creatures, and thus God is the Father of Spirits, as he is the Creator, or Former of them, *Heb. xii. 9. Zech. xii. 1.* And if Christ be but a Creature,

ture, or a Son by Creation, as they, we might admit of his Inference. But the Scriptures set him in an higher Orb, and superior Rank of Being, (*To which of the Angels said God, at any time, Thou art my Son? Heb. i. 5.*) suppose him to be of quite another Kind and Nature, than Creatures, and ascribe to him freely, and without hesitation, the distinguishing Marks and Perfections of Deity. We consider him indeed as God's own Son, in the true and natural Sense, and not a Son by Adoption, or by way of Figure and Allusion, yet argue not barely from the Resemblance which the relation imports, but likewise the account which the Scripture gives of him; we take his Character from thence, and find it glorious, as of the only-begotten of the Father. Of such a Son of God we speak, as requires that we honour him even as we honour the Father, accounting it no Robbery to be equal with God.

OUR Author complains, that *tho I grant a Subordination of the Son to the Father,* (surely he cou'd not suppose me to grant that he is a subordinate God, while I allow an Order among the Divine Persons) *yet I make no use of it where he wou'd think I had most occasion for it,* 1 Cor. xv. 24, 27, 28. No wonder 'tis here said, when he shall have delivered up the Kingdom to God, even the Father, (who has left the Administration of it to the Mediator unto that day) he shall himself also be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all; even to the Man Christ Jesus, and to all both Angels and Saints, brought to Perfection of Glory and Happiness in and by him.

HE seems here and elsewhere to mistake me, in supposing, that wherever Christ is call'd the Son of God, I do understand that he is spoken of as God; whereas I often take the *Man* Christ, the Messiah and Mediator, to be mentioned under that Character. *He seems, says he, to suppose, that the Mankind only gives*

gives up the Kingdom. The truth is, I do suppose, that it is the Mediatorial Kingdom that shall then determine, that the present Management by the Mediator shall then cease, and so that the Man Christ, the Mediator, shall deliver up the Kingdom to God.

He argues, if Christ be Mediator in both Natures, and gives up the Kingdom as Mediator, must he not give it up in both Natures? I answer; the Mediatorial Administration, however managed (whether in one or both Natures) shall then end, and be resigned. And must not he that gives it up, become subject to the Father? I answer; the Man Christ shall so become subject to the Father, as to have Mediatorial Judgment and Dominion no longer in his hand; there being no farther occasion for such a Dispensation.

When the Apostle says, To God, even the Father, are we to understand him, that he shall give it up to the Father, to himself, and to the Holy Ghost? I answer; the Mediator shall give it up, not to himself, for he shall be no longer Mediator, but to the Father, as first among the Divine Persons, who, not separately, but in conjunction with Word and Spirit, shall henceforth immediately, not by Mediatorial Administration, be all in all. But if the Union of the two Natures continues, if the Divine Nature retains the Dominion, while it continues united to the Human, how does he give it up at all? I answer; I find not that the Apostle speaks here of any other Kingdom, or Dominion, to be given up, but properly mediatorial; nor does the Divine Nature retain, or the Man Christ in Union with it any longer exercise, Mediatorial Dominion.

I took notice farther of two things, which considerate Christians cannot but have at heart, the astonishing Love of God in Jesus Christ, and the Value of his Sacrifice; the Glory of which they might justly apprehend to be in danger of being greatly eclips'd, by the Notions now advanced. No wonder if they be alarm'd, and upon their guard, when they apprehend

hend an Attempt made to darken the Glory of the only-begotten Son of God, and sap the Foundation of their Hope and Joy : if they inwardly disgust, and be ready to oppose the spreading of an Opinion, that appears to lessen Men's Esteem of the Person, and Grace, of the Bleiled Jesus, and their Sense of Obligation to his matchless Love. They cannot but think the Life of Religion to be nearly concerned, and will not be much moved by Pretences of Charity, and the sober Life of some that are in it, or mere Moral Lectures, which they would have to pass for the only Practical Preaching. They cannot but fear, that true Piety will more sensibly dwindle and decay, when some of the main things that support and give Vigour to it in the Hearts and Lives of Men, are struck out of their Belief and Esteem, and represented as of little Use and Regard.

ONE thing that has been of principal use, to give Relief to distressed Consciences, and to settle the Tranquillity of guilty Minds, under just Apprehension of God's Displeasure for Sin, is that God sent forth his own Son in the Likeness of sinful Flesh, to be a Sacrifice for Sin ; that this Sacrifice appointed by God, is of sufficient Value to expiate the Sins of the World from the Dignity of the Person suffering, and the Greatness of his Sufferings in our Nature. We glory in the Merit of Christ's Obedience and Death, in that he was God manifested in Flesh. But the Letter boldly asserted, *The only Condescension they can speak of, is that of the Word's becoming related to a human Body and Soul, without the least Alteration or real Abasement of his Divine Nature.* As if it was no real Condescension and Abasement for him, that was in the Form of God, and truly God, to become Man, assume a Human Soul and Body into personal Union with himself ; as if in such a case he had no real Concern in what the Human Nature suffer'd. This Condescension of Love however entertains the Wonder

Wonder and triumphant Songs of Angels, and the Hearts of Believers have been ever ravish'd with it.
 * But the Author would have it seem more *astonishing*, that a certain Being, *not indeed equal to God*, (he does not say, a mere Creature, tho' what else he can be, I am utterly unable to conceive) *should be divested of his Perfections for a time, put himself into the Condition of a poor mortal Man, wherein he was to learn and increase in Wisdom, have no power to do any thing, be afflicted, suffer and die.* A strange and groundless Conceit ! which I find not the Scripture to speak any thing of, and in other respects appears unaccountable ; besides that the Love of God, in giving his only-begotten Son, is set forth in such Expressions, and in such a manner, as found too big for the Condescension of a Creature, (or a Being infinitely distant from him, as that must of necessity be, that has not the Nature and Perfections of God) and to me, utterly transcend what this precarious Scheme can reasonably account for.

AND two things upon a just Estimate seem to abate Astonishment at the Love of such a Christ, as well as the Value of his Death, and the Pretence of meriting the Regards of the great God by laying down his Honours and his Life at his command. One, that he had nothing to part with but what he had freely received, and ought in duty and gratitude for the Honours that had been done him above others, readily to do, without making such a Merit of it. The other, that for a short Humiliation and Suffering in a human Body, he was to have so unexpressibly great Reward, and be advanced to Glory and universal Dominion, which he had no pretence of claim to ; for a short Disgrace, and shorter Pain, by his order, who had a right to demand this and much more of him, to have all Power in Heaven and

* Lett. p. 15.

Earth given him, seated in the Throne of the Most High, to be served and adored by Angels and Men.

I said, What tho' the Deity be impassible, and suffer'd not real Pain, or Alteration, when Christ bore our Sins in his Body on the Cross, his holy Soul felt the Sting and Bitterness of Death, was in greatest Agonies of Sorrow and Distress, and in the opinion of such as suppose its Pre-existence in a State of Glory, underwent such like Changes as our Author imagines in the Being he supposes to suffer in Flesh. Here he cries, *Where is the least word in the Sacred Books, of the pre-existent Soul of Christ, that was distinct from the Logos?* As if the Learned Dr. More, the late Bishop of Gloucester, and others, were not known to have alledged plausible Texts of Scripture, in favour of the Opinion. And tho' I declar'd not for it, yet it answer'd what I mention'd it for, nor is the Cause I plead concern'd in it. Origen's mind however is known in this, who observes in the Passage I quoted before *, that the Word remaining in Substance the same, suffers none of those things, which the Body and Soul (he had assumed) suffer. *Whence is it then, that we read only of his bearing our Sins in his Body?* Yes, we read also, that his Soul was made an Offering for Sin, Isa. liii. 10. that his Soul was troubled, Joh. xii. 27. *My Soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto Death,* Mat. xxvi. 38. Mark xiv. 34, &c. *Why are the Jews charg'd with killing the Prince of Life?* Because they killed the Man Christ, or parted his Soul and Body; not that they could kill his Soul, or separate it from the Logos.

WHEREAS I farther observ'd, that which gave greatest Virtue and Price to his Obedience and Sufferings, was the infinite Dignity of his Person, not the mere Pain which his human Nature felt; he

* P. 74. [οὐδὲ λόγος τὴν ἀστικὴν φύσιν λέγεται, ἀλλὰ πάχει ἡνὶ πάχει τὸ οὐρανὸν ἢ τὸ γῆν.] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 4.

replies,

replies, *It was not the mere Pain felt, but truly felt by such a Person.* And who doubts, that the Pain Christ felt, he truly felt, or that the Person felt, what the human Nature felt, since his human Nature was not aliene to, or separate from his Person, but did really belong to it ?

As for his saying, that I seemed apprehensive of the necessity of supposing, that the Nature itself that suffer'd, must be extraordinary, and the mere Relation of the impossible Logos, to an ordinary Soul and Body, would not have sufficed, whence I run into the Notion of the Pre-existence of our Saviour's Soul : He is in a great mistake ; I neither asserted it, nor apprehended any necessity of doing it upon this account ; neither do I think that the Sufferings of Christ's human Nature (not merely related to, but really united with the Logos) did not suffice ; but rather suppose that if they had been the Sufferings of a different, however extraordinary Nature, they had not been so congruous and proper (if indeed available) means of expiating, and making atonement for, the Sins of Mankind. And tho' I would not call Christ's Soul and Body an ordinary Soul and Body ; yet I must think them properly human, however distinguish'd by some special Privileges, and not of another Kind or Species, not of a Nature different from that of other Men.

WHEN I proceeded, How astonishing is the Consideration, that God was manifested in Flesh ; that tho' the Deity itself was not capable of Misery, yet the Lustre of its Glory was veil'd, and it was truly concern'd and interested in the Sufferings of the human Nature, which it was the most amazing Condescension for it to assume ! He is content to puzzle a plain matter with some Queries ; *How that Deity, which was not capable of Misery, was capable of being manifested in the Flesh?* The invisible things of God, even his Eternal Power and Deity, are manifest, and may be clearly seen in the things that he has made,

Rom. i. 19, 20. What shou'd hinder, but that he may be more specially related to, or have a more special Residence in our Nature, if he pleases, and therein manifest, and give more sensible Proofs of Divinity? *If there be one Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, how came the Deity of the Son, to be capable of being manifested in the Flesh, when the Deity of the Father, according to the Holy Scriptures, is not capable of such a Manifestation?* I am here at a loss for his Meaning, if by Manifestation is meant visible Appearance. I know not, that either Father, Word, or Holy Ghost, are capable of being immediately seen; Deity in itself is invisible, and so I suppose is the *Logos*, and even the Spirit that is within us: but if he speaks of Incarnation, why the Word, and not the Father, assum'd, and so in a sense appear'd in Human Nature, I need only say, it seems more congruous to the Order among the Divine Persons, that the second, and not the first, shou'd do this, who yet is God, as well as the Father, tho' not God the Father. *What is meant by the Glory of Christ's Deity veil'd? To whom was it veil'd?* I answer; tho' he ceased not to be God, when he took the Nature of Man, yet he appeared not with those visible Marks of Greatness and Majesty, he might have done as God, or with such a dazzling Lustre as now surrounds the Man Christ in Glory; but in a Condition of Infirmity and Suffering.

We suppose not, as he wou'd insinuate, that God's own Son did not suffer really and properly, but fancifully only, except he was miserable in his highest Capacity. The Sufferings of Christ's Human Nature, were the real Sufferings of God's own Son, tho' the Nature of God, (which he had together with the Nature of Man) was uncapable of Suffering and Misery: nor do I doubt, but this amazing Condescension and Grace, will be the happy Subject of the Songs of Angels, and Triumphs of Saints to all Eternity, while Devils and harden'd Unbelievers fret and

gnash their Teeth ; which our Author's Charity might have securely pass'd without *evil Surmizings*, as if I ranked with Devils those who differ from me in these Points. For my part, I judge no Man as to his final State, nor attempt to set at nought my Brother, knowing we are all to appear before a Tribunal, where God will be Judge himself. I censure not, but hope the best of those who differ from me, even in Points which seem to be of dangerous Tendency, and doubt not of God's favourable regard to such as bear a sincere Love to Truth and Goodness. We had need however to pass the time of our sojourning here in Fear, and carefully guard against Errors in Doctrine and Practice, which may expose to his Censure and Resentment.

WHAT had been offer'd in Defence of the Deity of Christ, I thought provided against that which he subjoined about the Holy Ghost, which he now calls *Evidences of his Subordination or Inferiority*. What he means by this, he is not pleased to tell us, or in what Rank of Being he places him, or what sort of Creature he makes him, since he seems unwilling to allow him so much as the Name of God, which he freely allows to other Creatures as God's Agents. He observes, that in the Stile of the Scriptures, the Spirit is represented as God's Agent, and God is set out as working by him. And will God's working by his Spirit necessarily argue, that he is therefore but an inferior Agent ? A Man may be said to work by his Will, without supposing that his Will is therefore an inferior Agent. God made the World by Jesus Christ, yet he appears not to be such an inferior Agent, of whom 'tis said, *And thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the Foundation of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thine hands.** The Scripture tells us, that the Spirit searches all things, yea even the deep things of God :

* Heb. i. 10.

which is no more a Mark of an inferior Agent, than of the Spirit of Man which is in him, being such, which differs not really from the Man *. It seems also to ascribe Sovereignty to him in his Working ; *All these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every Man severally as he will* †. He adds, *So that it cannot seem strange, that that is said to be done to God, which is done more immediately to the Spirit. This is a full Answer to the Proof brought from Acts v. 3, 4.* Ananias lyed immediately to the Apostles, and by lying to them, he did, in effect, lye to the Holy Ghost, who dwelt in them ; and this was again in effect, a lying to God, who sent the Holy Spirit. But as God the Father appears not here to be mentioned, or the Spirit's being his inferior Agent : so 'tis unto the Holy Ghost that the Lye was made, the Holy Ghost that herein was tempted, ver. 9. and he is set in opposition to the Apostles, whom he thought to have deceived ; *Thou hast not lyed unto Men, but unto God* : Whereas, according to our Author, it should have been said, thou hast not lyed unto Men, nor unto the Holy Ghost in us, but unto God, both the Holy Ghost and the Apostles being God's Agents. But the Text is so far from asserting or countenancing this, that it says the contrary, *Why bath Satan filled thine Heart to lye to the Holy Ghost ?* He goes on ; *Thus, I Thes. iv. 8. He that despiseth, despiseth not Man, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit* ; compare Luke x. 16. But this is so far from invalidating, that it rather confirms our Sense. God or Christ is here set in opposition to Man ; the Contempt and Indignity did not so properly respect and affect the latter, as the Person and Authority of the former, in whose Name, and by whose Order, the Apostles acted. In like manner, it was not so properly to the Apostles, that *Ananias lyed, as unto the Holy Ghost*, by whom they were impower'd,

* 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.

† 1 Cor. xii. 11.

and

and who knew the Secrets of his Heart, which he had thought to conceal ; hereby shewing that he was God, unto whom he lyed.

THIS, says he, likewise answers his Argument from 1 Cor iii. 16. *Know ye not that ye are the Temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwel'eth in you?* The reason is plain, viz. because Christians are an Habitation of God thro the Spirit. As if God's dwelling in us by his Spirit, were inconsistent with the Holy Spirit's dwelling in us himself as his own Temple, and in his own immediate Right, to whom and to whose Service we are consecrated jointly with the Father. Mat. xxviii. 19. 1 Cor. vi. 19. *What, know ye not that your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you?*

I observed, that Divine Perfections are acknowledged in him. He is called, *The eternal Spirit* *. 'Tis doubtful, says our Author, whether the *Holy Spirit or the Logos* is meant. I deny not but the Divine Nature in Christ may be intended, tho it seems probable to be spoken of the *Holy Spirit*, by whom the human Nature was anointed, sanctified, and prepared to be a Sacrifice ; especially according to his Notion, which supposes the *Logos* himself, having no superior Nature, to be in such Anguish and Distress, as to need not only the Assistance of the Spirit, but of the Angels in the Oblation that was made.

THE Spirit of God was with him in the beginning, when he laid the Foundation of the Earth †. He is represented as every where present ‡. Nor does the *Elegancy of the Description made of the Divine Omnipresence*, prejudice the Truth of the Account, or make it necessary or probable, that by a needless and uncouth Figure, the Spirit of God, and his *Presence or Face*, should signify the same thing, when

* Heb. ix. 14.

† Gen. i. 2.

‡ Psal. cxxxix. 7.

both are distinctly mentioned; and if he be there spoken of at all, I see not but he must be spoken of as a distinct Person. Nor can it be well imagin'd how he should dwell in all Believers *, and abide as a Comforter † in all Cases and Circumstances for ever, but upon this Supposition.

As for his absolute Knowledge, and his being intimately acquainted with all the Father's Counsels, our Author thinks it sufficient to refer to the Letter, p. 16, 17. where 'tis shown that this Knowledge is communicated to him, from Joh. xvi. 13, 14, 15. *He shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, &c.* As if we deny'd that the Holy Spirit, by Dispensation and Office in the Affairs of Grace, acted in Subordination to the Father and Son, and by way of Communication from them, according to antient Counsel and Agreement. Thus to his Query ||, *If the Holy Ghost were the supreme God, can it be thought, that his not speaking of himself, but what he shall hear, should be the Reason and Evidence of his leading the Disciples into all Truth?* I answer; Yes, very well, according to the Nature and Design of his distinct Character and Office. But it is a different thing, and it would have been to his purpose, to shew, that the Spirit had no Knowledge, and no way of knowing, but by arbitrary Communication. The Scripture seems to give quite another account of it, and to assure us of his Ability fully to instruct us in the things of God, not merely because he has been himself instructed, but because he searcheth all things, yea, even the deep things of God, (yet who, or what finite Being, by searching can find out God? Job xi. 7, 8, 9.) *For as no Man knoweth the things of a Man, save the Spirit of Man which is in him; even so, the things of God knoweth none, but the Spirit of God ***.*

* Rom. viii. 11. † Joh. xiv. 16. || P. 89.

** 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.

Now the Spirit of Man is intimately conscious of the things of a Man, and needs not to receive this Knowledge from another. And who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord, or being his Counsellor, hath taught him? With whom took he Counsel? Who instructed him, and taught him Knowledge? *Isa. xl.*
13, 14.

I went on to shew, that the Works which the Scriptures ascribe to him, are no less than Divine, such undoubted Effects of Omnipotence, as speak him to be true God; so as that even the *Socinians*, who do not think fit to allow that he is a Divine Person, do yet find themselves obliged to attribute those Works to Almighty Power: However, as I shewed that the Holy Scriptures manifestly speak of him as a Person; so I find not our Author to make doubt of this.

I concluded, upon the Evidence of such like Texts and Considerations as had been urged, the Reasonableness and Necessity of supposing, that Deity does also properly belong to the Holy Ghost, tho it was that of our Lord Jesus, which I had especially undertaken the Defence of; nor will the appearance of some Difficulty justify an Attempt to baffle certain Revelation, in a Subject confess'd to be above the reach of our limited and very narrow Understanding; or warrant precarious Schemes, that intrench upon his Honour and Prerogative, to whom we have the most absolute and inviolable Obligations.

WHEREAS 'twas urged, that the Texts which are plain for a Subordination or Inferiority (in the Son) will not admit of an Evasion here; since it cannot be reply'd, that the Holy Ghost is Man or Mediator: I thought it no Absurdity to speak of the Divine Persons which the Scriptures mention, and make known to us, according to that Revelation, and suppose that there is a certain Order among them, or a sort of Subordination in working, without one Person's being inferior

to another in Essence and Perfection. And his saying that I *allege the contested Position as an Answer,* can signify nothing with such as consider, that I had before accounted for it, and clear'd up the Difficulties about it ; and it was sufficient for me, in answer to his present Argument, to shew, that it was of no force to invalidate and overthrow our Position, or to prove it to be impossible or unreasonable ; which was all I had occasion here to do.

As for his repeating so often that the Scripture never says, that these three are the one God ; and how can it be conceived, that this one Essence or Nature should constitute more than one Person, or one Agent ? &c. It has had a distinct Consideration, and I cannot but esteem the Answers that were made to be full and sufficient, of which the Prudent and Impartial will judge. The Scriptures do abundantly assure us, that there is but one God, that his Nature or Essence is but one, that the Lord our God alone is to be served and worship'd, that Father, Son, and Spirit, are each truly possess'd of proper Divine Characters and Perfections, and each truly entitled to our Religious Homage. In this Revelation we acquiesce, without being curiously wise above what is written, or in doubt about the necessary and unavoidable Consequence. The Great God best knows himself, and can alone tell us what he is.

He farther argued, that the Father is said to send and give the Holy Ghost, and Christ the Mediator to receive and send him, upon his Prayer to his Father, that a Person must be suppos'd to have an Authority over one whom he gives or sends; adding, Mr. Moore is very slight in his Answer, viz. And what Absurdity in supposing, that this may be done even among Equals by Consent and Agreement, without any antecedent proper Superiority ? But as slight as he would have it to be thought, I find not that he does disprove it, or shew any real Absurdity in it, in the Harangue

he thinks for his purpose to address to his Reader upon it. Nor is there the least reason to conclude, that if *the Coming of the Holy Ghost* was by *the Will of the Father*, it was not by *his own Consent and Agreement*; when the one may so well and fairly consist with the other, and a joint Concurrence must certainly be allow'd.

HE asks, *What reason can there be to think, that a Person who is supreme God, can subject himself to another, and become a subordinate Person, not only to the Father, but to Christ the Mediator.* I answer, We say not that the Holy Ghost is *supreme*, if hereby is meant, first, among the Divine Persons, tho we suppose that he has a joint Supremacy with the other Persons, in respect of Godhead; nor do we say, that he is become a *subordinate Person* to Christ as Mediator, tho he act in an Office, in some sense, subordinate. And why should it be thought absurd or unreasonable, that the Holy Spirit, secure of his own Greatness, for valuable and most glorious Ends, in the Recovery and Salvation of lapsed Man, distinctly to commend his Love and display his Goodness, should be content to take an Office and Character, wherein he might act in Concurrence with, and in some sort of Subordination to the Father and Son? Why should it be thought incredible, tho it be very astonishing, that the Divine Word should be incarnate and become Man, and act in the subordinate Office of a Mediator, without Disparagement or Diminution of his original Glory and Perfection? Should we not rather account, and gratefully acknowledge, this surprizing Condescension and Benignity, to be most truly divine, to be a real Manifestation of the truest Glory? What can more directly tend to give an affecting Sense, and just Estimate of the transcendent Goodness and peculiar Excellency of that God, who is Love? What more becoming him, and more congruous to his Design, that he might appear amiable

to us, who had offended him, were prejudiced against him, and under a dread of his Resentment? What more likely Method to win and ravish our Hearts, and engage our best Affections for himself and Service, under the most endearing Obligations? I cannot but think with the excellent Dr. Tillotson,

' That tho it was a strange Condescension, yet it
 ' was likewise a most wonderful Argument of his
 ' Goodness, (the greatest Instance of the truest
 ' Goodness that ever was) which is the highest Glo-
 ' ry of the Divine Nature. If God for our sakes
 ' did submit himself to a Condition, which we may
 ' think did less become him, here is great cause of
 ' Thankfulness, but none sure of Cavil or Excep-
 ' tion. We have infinite reason to acknowledge and
 ' admire his Goodnes, but none at all to upbraid
 ' him with his Kindness, and to quarrel with him
 ' for having descended so much beneath himself, to
 ' testify his Love to us, and his tender Concernment
 ' for our Happiness. Besides that, when we have
 ' said all we can about this Matter, I hope we will
 ' allow God himself to be the best and most compe-
 ' tent Judge, what is fit for God to do, and that he
 ' needs not to take Counsel of his Creatures, what
 ' will best become him in this or any other Case.
*' Behold in this thou art not just; I will answer thee, that
 ' God is greater than Man: why dost thou dispute against
 ' him? for he giveth not account of any of his Matters.*
 ' Job xxxiii. 12, 13 *.

I have thus, thro the Goodness of God, review'd the Argument relating to the Deity of Christ, willing to weigh with Calmness the Objections made, or farther urged against it, without omitting any thing, to my knowledge, that merited further Consideration:

* Tillotson's *Works*, Fol. p. 556.

And must confess myself but more confirm'd in the Truth and Reasons of that Doctrine, which has been generally received in the Churches of Christ, without laying stress upon nicer Speculations, or Scholar-stick Niceties, foreign to the Scripture-Revelation, design'd for the Use and Benefit, not the Perplexing of Mankind. Nor need we wonder at all, if some things in Religion are hard to be understood, and of difficult Explication, which yet as to their Being and Existence are of necessary Belief; when even most of the things before us, that we familiarly converse with, puzzle our enquiring Thought, and admit not clear and certain Explication, tho we doubt not of the Truth and Reality of their Existence, and find we have sufficient knowledge of them, for the Conduct and Commerce of human Life.

OUR Author may be willing to pass his Scheme upon the Reader, under the plausible Notion of *Plain Christianity*; but upon maturer Examination, it seems to me, as it hath still done to the wiser and far greater part of Christians, contrary to Holy Scripture, and the Religion it was design'd to establish, unreasonable in itself, and clogg'd with shocking and insuperable Difficulties. And tho I believe not this Gentleman to be inclined to Deism; yet if such a Way of Arguing, and such a Method of Interpretation, be freely indulged, as some do not scruple in the present Controversy, it may not be hard to guess what use will be made of it, by such as are prejudiced against the Christian Religion, and appear in a Disposition to part with it upon easy Terms.

It is however, I think, to be gloried in, as a Divine and most Excellent Institution, admirably adapted in all the Parts of it, to serve and answer the proper Ends of Religion, approving itself to the Reason of Mankind, amidst some appearing Difficulties, and very rational even in those things that are peculiar to it, and of mere Revelation. And I am not without hope,

hope, that what has unhappily occasioned some Distractions of late, that tend to the Disadvantage of Religion, may yet, under the Conduct of a wise Providence, have this good Effect, to put Christians upon a more diligent searching of the Scriptures, that they may better understand, and be better establish'd in the Belief and Practice of the Religion they profess. It seems indeed owing to the Decay of this, and the Levity of its Professors, that Opinions sometimes heretofore advanc'd with Warmth and Subtly, and as often condemned, and discarded as dangerous Errors, have been of late again reviv'd, and so far entertain'd: I heartily wish they may not prove an Engine to subvert and ruin the Remainders thereof. And unless they had a greater and more manifest Tendency to make Men more holy and heavenly in their Conversations, than the common Belief, under the Influence of which, cordially receiv'd, the Life of Godliness has so happily flourish'd, what occasion for so much Heat and Eagerness? or what reason to give the World, or the Church, so much Trouble and Disturbance about them? Loose Opinions, however plausible in their first Appearance, commonly end in loose and evil Practices. If we once lose our Faith, we shall not long maintain Good Works. I am,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant.

F I N I S.

A N
A N S W E R
T O
Mr. PEIRCE's
Western Inquisition, &c.

Can none of their adversaries be justly censured as angry men? What, not those who cry out, that the Western Inquisition which they underwent rivals the bloody Tribunals of Spain and Portugal, which can appear true only to those who are enlightened with the loss of their eyes, and lie under the deplorable ~~desertion~~ of common Sense. Sir R. Blackmore's *Fist Prejudices against the Arian Hypothesis*, p. 79.



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ПЯТЬЕ ЧАСТИ



T H E
P R E F A C E.

M. R. Peirce in several of his papers, upon the differences between him and his people, had promis'd, that a full and large account of those matters should be laid before the publick, which accordingly came out some time after ; under the odious title of the WESTERN INQUISITION. On perusal thereof, several who found themselves injur'd, resolv'd upon an answer ; and that the facts mention'd

P R E F A C E.

in the Narrative and in the CITIZENS accounts (which he chiefly examines and bears upon) should in competent time be supported with sufficient Vouchers. This, tho' by several occasions much later than was intended, is now made good; not without regret indeed, that things of such a nature should be thus laid open: But hereof, they only must in justice bear the blame, who made it necessary, by misrepresentations, arguings upon false grounds, denying divers truths, and demanding proofs in such a publick way. Nothing but self-defence, and fear of prejudice to religion, by silence in such circumstances; could have prevail'd for this publication. Regard to the honour of GOD, and service of Truth, must take place of other considerations.

THE editors of the Narrative, take the opportunity to signify, they were not, nor well could be, much more than the bare editors of it. The matter and expressions were taken out of original letters, from persons of known integrity, on or near the place where the controversy chiefly lay. They can think but of two things, touching which any can possibly expect satisfaction from them, viz. Their concern in any such Narrative at all, and the unexceptionableness of their conduct in drawing and publishing of it.

IN reference to the former of these, they say, It was not matter of choice, but a sort of constraint

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straint upon them. They were among those against whom heavy charges were brought, as if they had made a stir and out-cry about error concerning the doctrine of the TRINITY when there was little or no ground for it; that they had fomented and inflam'd the contentions at Exeter, and made themselves parties in them; and in concert with some there or in that neighbourhood, had brought them in among the LONDON ministers, and undertaken for they know not what undue methods about them. To these things they were called to answer, and they thought thereupon, that a plain and faithful Narrative of matters, as far as they had any knowledge of them, or concern in them, would be their best vindication.

THEREBY it would appear, that there was more in the case of persons going off from the Scripture doctrine of the TRINITY, as it had been generally receiv'd in the Christian Churches, than those who blam'd them would allow; at least, that by the accounts given them (the truth of which they saw no reason to question) it did so appear. The Narrative would also show, that those differences began not from them; that they were not officious or forward about them; much less did they inflame or any way heighten them. When they receiv'd letters of information or complaint with desire of their advice, they gave but necessary civil answers to them,

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them, suggesting nothing but what was healing and pacifying, as far as regard to truth could admit ; and excusing themselves by reason of distance, and other obvious grounds from interposing : Putting all, as far as decency would allow, from their own to other more proper bands that were near them.

THUS the occasion of the Narrative they take to be sufficiently accounted for. It was in necessary self defence and to wipe of ill suggestions, which had made impression upon some to their disadvantage ; among whom may be reckon'd Mr. Peirce himself, tho' it seems it came not up so fully, nor answer'd so roundly as he expected ; which fault they'l endeavour to amend, when page 190 of his Inquisition comes to be consider'd.

AS to the other particular, the unexceptionableness of their conduct, in drawing and publishing of the Narrative, they doubt not this will be own'd, when they assure ; it was all taken from the letters of such, as had opportunities to know the truth, with ability and faithfulness to represent it. The whole was sent to the Authors for their review and confirmation, with express desire, that nothing might be suffer'd to pass, of which they had not good proof ; it was return'd with assurance, that they had deliberately and carefully examin'd it, and were

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were able to support all the facts with sufficient evidence. It was then writ out and printed the same as receiv'd back, those in LONDON, being, as was said, but the bare editors of it.

ON the challenges and exceptions of Mr. Peirce in his Inquisition, the printed Narrative hath been examin'd and compar'd with the Originals, and found intirely agreeing with them; yet because he hath fallen heavily upon it, charging it with falseness and faithlessness, and that the whole is a mere collusion and joggle, and what no regard should be paid to, till the charges be made out by good evidence, * (such language does this christian and charitable gentleman see fit to use.) The editors of the Narrative, saw it requisite to recur to the authors and inquire, Whether they would not think it fit; to give that proof of facts, which in such manner was call'd for?

THEY signify'd in return, That they were able and ready to do it, and were willing it should be advertised, that in reasonable time the proofs demanded should be given. Accordingly, having themselves perused Mr. Peirce's INQUISITION, and taken notice of the facts disputed by him, they sent up not only those in

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* See Western Inquisition, pag. 41, 53, 61, 157.

P R E F A C E.

the Narrative, but those mention'd in their own printed accounts of things; all attended with their proper vouchers. These are now publish'd for matter and words as receiv'd, with what the Editors have offer'd in their own vindication, and some needful remarks on what Mr. Peirce has seen fit to say touching these matters.



The Reader is desired to correct the following Errors before he reads the Book.

PAGE 7. l. 32. put a full point at them, and for if read If. p. 11. l. 13. blot out the comma at the word after. p. 17. l. 1. after Title add [of God]. p. 24. l. 18. for and, r. or. p. 29. l. 33. before what, r. As to. p. 49. l. 1. for convince, r. convict. p. 53. l. 12. put the Note of the Parenthesis before to and after Words. p. 58. l. 37. blot out to that. p. 79. l. 11. after was add said. p. 85. for reason r. reason. p. 92. l. 9. after certificate, add p. 119. of this book. p. 115. l. 6. for hi. r. his. and l. 9. for 104. r. 140. p. 119. l. 1. for principle, r. principles. p. 125. for hit. r. his. p. 130. l. blot out different. p. 136. at the End for Joseph, r. John. p. 175. after religion r. attack'd, insulted and blasphem'd.

A N



A N
A N S W E R
T O
Mr. PEIRCE's
Western Inquisition, &c.



T is now past all doubt, that an attempt has been on foot for some time to revive the *Arian Heresy* among the *Dissenters*, as well as those of the *Establish'd Church*.

Mr. Peirce, who confesses he was settled in his present opinion before he came to *Exeter, West. Inq.* p. 10. but did art-

fully conceal himself for several years under scripture expressions taken and us'd by him in a sense very different from, and contrary to what is commonly receiv'd, has at length seen fit to throw off the mask, and show himself in his proper colours.

A P A R T Y being gain'd on his side (by what methods and inducements he best knows) he is come forth at the head of them in great anger against those, who seeing through his disguises enter'd into such christian and prudent measures, as were judg'd necessary to preserve that important article of faith, which they found to be secretly but too successfully invaded.

How far in his management he has had regard to the rules of christian charity (which he would have all men believe he has the greatest veneration for) or to those of truth, nay, of common decency and honour, is left to the sober judgment of such as shall peruse, what he himself has constrain'd us to set in publick view.

THE Title he has prefix'd to his book presents us with an extraordinary specimen of his temper. Nothing can be more flaming than it is. Every one must be surpriz'd and startled at the first cast of his eye upon it. *THE WESTERN INQUISITION, OR A RELATION of the Controversy among the Dissenters in the West of England.* What could he intend by this? Would he have us understand these as synonomous terms? But what congruity is there between them? Unless he means, that in giving this RELATION, he has acted the part of an angry, uncharitable and revengeful INQUISITOR, by searching for, and making the worst of every thing he could pick up, to expose the weakness, blemish the reputation, and obstruct the usefulness of his brethren. In this sense indeed the Title and the Book do too well agree, and in no other do they agree with truth. But surely it was not his intention thus to represent himself how much soever he has done it through inadvertence.

'Tis more probably conjectur'd, that his aim was to raise in peoples minds the blackest idea possible of the proceedings of those ministers and christians, who vigorously oppos'd the new notions that were spreading among them, and to suggest to the world; That the whole of their management was such, as can be represented by no assembly of men so fitly and truly, as that of a *Popish Inquisition*: for what can the Reader infer from such a comparison at large, but that they were a set of men who acted upon the same principles, pursued the same measures, and only wanted power to practice the same cruelties as are in the *Inquisition*, or perhaps that were practic'd not long since under a *Popish Reign* in the *West of England*. What dismal and tragical accounts must every one expect from a book with such a Title! And yet we are bold to say, there is no man of modesty and temper that has the least

acquaint-

acquaintance with the proceedings of those ministers and christians, but must pronounce them clear of these odious and abominable insinuations. Let any one read the history of the *Inquisition*, and compare it with the account which those of *Exeter* have given of their proceedings ; or that which even Mr. *Peirce* himself has given, and then judge, if he had any reason to insinuate a parallel, or so much as any resemblance between them ; or whether the *Title* he has prefix'd to his book be not as monstrous and insolent, as it is causeless and without foundation. But Mr. *Enty* in his book of *Truth* and *Liberty*, has so well defended himself and Brethren from the charge of acting as an *Inquisition*, that more need not here be added except an hearty wish, that Mr. *Peirce* may see and repent of the great wrong he has done his brethren and friends by this scandalous abuse.

We proceed to the book itself : Mr. P. acquaints his reader of his being convinced, That the common doctrine of the Trinity was not according to the *Scriptures*, and that he was settled in his present *Opinion* before he came to *Exeter*, *West Inq.* p. 10. But previous to this he uses no small skill to guard him against the shock, which this surprizing news might give him, and to procure if possible his good esteem, and lead him gently into a favourable opinion at least, of his sentiments, by giving a plausible account of the way in which he himself was gradually brought into them. It must be confess'd his management here has something in it, that may amuse the unwary and stagger those, that are weak in the Faith.

BUT whatever be the advantage he might hope to gain in this way, he must lose it in another ; seeing that hereby he has extreamly enervated, if not wholly destroy'd the force of all he has said in answer to the objections laid against him by the *Exeter* people, and done as much as they need desire, to satisfy them, that they did him no wrong, when from his own conduct and other circumstances, they thought they had good ground to suspect him to be, what now he owns he really was ; at least he has sav'd them the trouble of maintaining any further dispute with him upon this head. And they cannot but think they have abundantly more to justify

their withdrawing from his ministry, than he could have as an honest man to justify his continuing with them, or clear himself from the charge of prevaricating in the worship of God, during all the time he officiated as their minister.

BESIDES, It falls out the worse for him, that there is nothing to be concluded for a certainty, from all he has laid in the first ten pages of his book; except that he has renounc'd the common doctrine of the Trinity. If any will form an argument from the account he there gives of himself, we hope the same liberty will be allow'd on our side, which will shew that no advantage can accrue to Mr. Peirce by it.

FOR we can say, that others have read the *Antimicene* writers and *Novatian*, and more lately Dr. Clark and Mr. Whiston, as well as Mr. Peirce; that there is no instance of caution or of diligence, by which he would recommend himself, that they have omitted. that the doctrine he now charges as *unscriptural*, has been often examin'd by whole bodies of learned and holy men, and at those times when persons equal at least, if not superior in capacity to Mr. Peirce, have used the utmost efforts of their wit and learning to corrupt and subvert it; and that by the mighty power of its evidence it has so prevail'd, that the generality of professing Christians, in all ages, have been constrain'd to yield to it as the truth, which God hath most certainly revealed in the holy scriptures.

FROM these general remarks we shall now descend to particulars. The first thing Mr. Peirce pretends to, is, a necessity for writing his *Inquisition*, and that the blame of all our divisions, is owing to those, who stood up in defence of the COMMON FAITH: Whereas 'tis most plain from his own confession, that he brought his new notions with him to Exeter, and was not so ingenuous as to own them, but imposed upon the people, as not being of the same judgment they thought him to be, at the time they chose him for their minister. He knew they were a congregation of Christians, that believ'd the proper Godhead of the SON and of the SPIRIT, and worshipp'd them as the ONE GOD with the FATHER. If he did not believe such principles, nor could join with them in such worship, he had acted with

with integrity and honour in refusing their call, or in declaring his own notions to them ; and if after this, they had accepted him, he would have had reason to complain of what has been lately done.

He acknowledges, he should be *at a loss about some circumstances of time* ; yet he could not but be sensible that in the present case, much depended upon this, for stating matters of fact ; and that that, may be a prudent and necessary act at one certain time, which would have been otherwise some months before. By false dates he casts the blame where it ought not to lie, in attributing that to unseasonable heat, which was but a timely and necessary vindication of truth, after some had under-min'd and forsaken it.

He pleads, That there have been always differences among the Protestant Dissenters *pag. 4.* about this doctrine. But tho' there have been some differences among those, who have attempted to explain the *modus* of it, yet this has been consistent with their agreeing in the *substance* of the doctrine.

Tis a gross mistake to think that Dr. Clark's or the *Arian scheme*, is the only *medium* between proper *Tri-theism* and *Sabellianism*, as is suggested, p. 5. Tho' the great Mr. Howe thought the distinction of persons in the **GODHEAD** to be greater than some others account it, yet he is clear in asserting the *Unity of the Godhead*. Whatever be the distinction, he owns the *Union* to be *necessary* and eternal, and such as could not but be. His *scheme* does effectually secure the honour of the **SON** and **SPRIT**, and lays a sufficient foundation for our adoration and trust. They on the other hand, who according to the common scheme make the distinction less, are far from *Sabellianism*, for they own it to be *real*, and not nominal only, or a mere *Ens rationis*, viz. something that had a foundation in the divine nature from all eternity, and would have been the same, tho' there had been no creation or redemption. The **SON** is not the **FATHER**, nor the **FATHER** the **SON**, nor the **HOLY GHOST** either. Such things may be said of the **One**, which cannot of the **Other**; therefore they are more than three external manifestations or relations of **God** to the creature.

If Mr. Peirce could make nothing but *Sabellianism* of the scheme he was bred up in. He knows that many great and learned men think otherwise, and that it is the true medium between *Sabellianism* and *Tritheism*. His own new notions derogate from the honour of the SON and SPIRIT, by robbing them of their proper Deity, and destroy the Unity of the GODHEAD, by bringing in a Plurality of Gods, not indeed of supreme ones, but of one supreme, and one or more subordinate; and what is this but the *Polytheism* of the *Pagan* world reviv'd, and a little more refin'd? After all, these subordinate Deities, will prove but deify'd creatures, who receiv'd their being, and all their excellencies from the will and pleasure of another, and depend upon him for their continuance.

AND tho' the Doctrine of the TRINITY runs thro' the whole Scheme of Christianity; yet Mr. Peirce thinks it is so obscurely reveal'd, that we can come to no certainty about it. What then! Has GOD left us in the dark, whether there be more Gods than One? And whether the SON and SPIRIT be God, or two Creatures? Are we not sure, that there can be but One GOD; and yet do we not find, that all the titles, attributes, works and Worship of GOD are ascrib'd to These as well as to the FATHER? Why shonld we go off from what is certain, merely because we cannot apprehend the Manner of it?

WHEN Mr. Peirce began to be shaken in his mind about the common faith, he seems studiously to have avoided all such proper means of satisfaction as one would think the nature and importance of the doctrine did require. He gives us no account of any books he read in defence of the common faith, and when he was put upon reading more books on the subject, they seem'd chiefly to be such as were in the *new scheme*, and did tend to strengthen and increase his prejudices against the old.

As to what he says concerning the *Antinicene* and *Postnicene* Fathers: When he has given a fair answer to Bishop Bull's and Dr. Waterland's account of them, what he says in his *Inquisition*, may deserve more regard.

NOTWITHSTANDING his great *Encomium* of Dr. Clark's book, we think the Doctor would have acted a fairer part, if he had compar'd the *Old* and *New Testament* together, and consider'd the light that would arise from such a comparison concerning the person and dignity of the *Messiah*. He says, he *does not fall in with him in every thing*; but is not pleased to tell us wherein he agrees, and wherein he differs. However, he owns, he was brought to part with some of his darling notions. If these were the common notions of the *TRINITY*, 'tis to be fear'd, he had lost his fondness for them before he had read that book, notwithstanding all its charms. After he look'd upon these as false, 'tis no wonder he should no longer esteem them *a fundamental article of the christian faith.* pag. 9.

FROM thence he fell to look upon the doctrine in any scheme to be of little signification or importance. For if persons may mistake or err about a doctrine without danger, they may as safely continue ignorant of it; because error is something more and worse than bare ignorance. If an uniform belief *as to the substance* of this doctrine, be not absolutely necessary, we may think no belief at all is necessary; for if it is not uniform, it must be erroneous on one side or t'other. Where he says, that *good men widely differ*; if he means *as to the substance* of the doctrine, 'tis *gratis dictum*.

HE pleases himself with finding he had very much kept to scripture expressions in speaking of this doctrine, p. 5. and *with resolving to do so for the future*; but surely he did not satisfy himself with repeating the words as a parrot may do, without forming any conception in his mind about the sense of them, if he intended any sense, whether it were according to the old or new scheme, tho' he might answer some low and mean ends, by concealing it from others; yet with respect to the divine acceptance it had been the same thing if he had us'd other words, that would have more plainly express'd the notions he had form'd.

BECAUSE he made use of the same expressions with other christians who are in the *old scheme*, when he pray'd *to the Father through the Son*, pag. 10. and by the *Holy Spirit*, it does not follow that he and they perform'd the same kind of worship, and were agreed

agreed in the same object of it. He knew his congregation worshipp'd the Father not *exclusive* but *inclusive* of the Son and Spirit ; whereas he did not worship them at all, or only as subordinate Beings with an inferior kind of worship. How he could safely depend upon the merits of one for acceptance, and upon another for assistance, who, according to the new scheme, cannot be prov'd to be almighty, omniscient and omnipresent, is not to be apprehended ; or how he could honestly joyn with those, who he knew were paying another kind of worship, or they with him if his sentiments had been known to them, is as hard to conceive. It is observable, that when he cannot bring the people to entertain his notions, his great design seems to be, to make the doctrine be thought a matter of little or no importance. He represents it as having little or no influence upon the christian virtues, pag. 9. tho' if all these flow from *faith unfeigned*, the excellency and efficacy of the one, must depend on the soundness of the other. A false faith can never be the parent or nourisher of truly christian virtues.

HAVING said what is sufficient to the introductory part of his book, we shall now follow pag. 13. him through a long relation of matters of fact which are so unfairly represented, with many unworthy reflections upon his brethren, and with so much ill temper, that we wish for his own sake he had acted with a greater guard upon himself.

His first attempt is to fasten the rise of the controversy upon Mr. Lavington, how far he has done it with reason and truth, may be seen by the following account given of that affair under Mr. Lavington's own hand.

WHEREAS Mr. Peirce in his *Western Inquisition*, page 13. says, That Mr. Stogdon fell upon the controversy with me, and talk'd very freely, and seems to ascribe the beginning of our differences to my publishing what passed at that time.

I do hereby declare, That we had only some very slight and superficial talk about the present controversy ; nor did I till some time after this conference, know, what Mr. Stogdon's notions concerning the

“ Trinity

Trinity, were ; and so far was I from publishing what then pass'd, that I did not think it worth the least notice or regard. And tho' Mr. Peirce would date the first occasion and rise of our disturbances from what pass'd between Mr. Stogdon and me ; 'tis certain they began higher, for several things relating thereto had fallen out before this, as is evident from what follows.

IN December 1716, the notions of Dr. Clark and Mr. Whiston began to spread, and were secretly propagated, as appears from a following certificate, p. 14. given by Mr. Atkins.

On February the 17th, 1716, I preach'd on 1 John v. 7. without the least regard to any disputes among us ; for tho' the Arian scheme, had got footing in this city [Exon] ; yet I had not at that time, the least suspicion of it. But the occasion of my preaching on that text was, That I had undertaken to discourse in order upon the fundamental principles of religion, and having before preach'd upon the *Being of a God*, I came then in course, according to my prescrib'd method, to treat of the TRINITY. The week after I had preach'd this sermon, a poor woman came to me in great perplexity, and told me, That she knew not how to come to the Lord's-table ; for that they told her, That CHRIST was not GOD, and the text I had preach'd upon, was not in the Bible : The woman mention'd no man's name to me, neither did I ask her, but went immediately and acquainted Mr. Wither's with what she had said. Mr. Wither's of his own accord went to Mr. Hallet, senior, in order to put a stop to this matter. A few days after this, Mr. Stogdon and Mr. Spiring came to my house to vindicate themselves, imagining, as I suppose, that the woman had accus'd them to me ; tho' indeed she did not, nor did I suspect them. Much about this time (a day or two before or after) I was sent for to a layman of the Church of England, who was just a dying, and in great perplexity about this controversy, which, he told me, had been for some months spreading in our city to his knowledge ; and that, among those of our persuasion, as well as those of the establish'd Church : And mention'd some of their names ; tho' Mr. Peirce does not touch upon this matter, till in pag. 100. of his *Western Inquisition.*] From whence it appears, that

Mr. Peirce should have set the rise of this controversy some months higher than my conversation with Mr. Stogdon.

ABOUT this time (as I guess) three of Mr. Peirce's chief friends, went to him to inquire of the genuineness of *v. Job. v. 7.* I guess it to be about this time, because, it is reasonable to suppose, that they did it when this matter was most talk'd of, which was the week after I preach'd upon it ; and I am assur'd by Mr. Manston, that two of them came to him at this time with the same question : And I am certain, that it was but a little while after, that Mr. Peirce also own'd to me, that they had been with him, and that he told them, *That he held it as long as he could, but on reading Dr. Clark he had given it up.* This he told me at my own house, long before the meeting of the Committee in November, 1718. tho' in *pag. 36. West. Inq.* he suggests, he did not say it till then.

ON or about the 29th of April 1717, Mr. Stogdon and Mr. Spiring had a debate with Mr. Jewell part of which is set down in a following certificate.

A few days after this, Mr. Jewell and Mr. Spiring had another conference at Mr. Spiring's own house, where Mr. Spiring blam'd Mr. Jewell for divulging their former debates ; and then declar'd, that the majority of the ministers of the City held these notions : And about this time likewise Mr. Spiring had a formal dispute with seven women at once upon this controversy. All this had pass'd before the preaching of Mr. Atkin's Sermon ; and yet Mr. Peirce would represent us as very peaceable till that time : and *p. 29. of his West. Inq.* asserts, that 'twas Mr. Atkin's sermon that had inflam'd the people. This is a true and faithful account of matters thus far.

John Lavington.

FROM what has been said, it appears, that Mr. Peirce has not given a clear and just account of the first occasion and rise of our differences, by imputing them to me ; and the reader may easily see thorough the slender excuse by which he would bring off Mr. Stogdon : For in *West. Inq. pag. 13.* he owns, that Mr. Stogdon quite alter'd his notion concerning the doctrine of the TRINITY, and tho' he tells us, That he [Mr. Stogdon] endeavour'd to conceal it from the world ; yet, the contrary to this appears by Mr. Edgley's and Mr.

Galpin's

Galpin's certificates, and 'tis plain, he was free enough with his *intimate friends*, and was not wanting in his zeal, both before and after he was discover'd, to propagate his notion, where he found any likelihood of doing it with success.

WHAT I have asserted above does justify the *Faithful Narrative*, and must reflect dishonour on Mr. Peirce, who to bring the *Narrative* under discredit, suggests, *West. Inq.* p. 36. he did not say he had given up that text, *1 John v. 7. till the meeting of the thirteen, the November after the Assembly*, which was in 1718. whereas long before the meeting of that committee, and but a little while after, I had preach'd my sermon in *February 1716*. he own'd to me he had given up that text.

I desire the Reader will now examine the *Western Inquisition*, p. 34. where he will find Mr. Peirce represents the sermon I preach'd *February 17. 1716.* as preach'd by me *some time after* his sermon, which sermon of his, was not preach'd till *June 2. 1717.* that is, above *three months* after, which according to his own account, was when our differences were far advanc'd; and yet he represents the conference that happen'd soon after my sermon between me and Mr. Stogdon, and was occasion'd by it, to be the beginning of our disturbances. The world will see from hence, how little his History is to be depended on, and make due reflections on it when they observe how ready he is to be severe upon others, and to charge mistakes even where there are none. Surely Mr. Peirce should have had a better memory, or at least have been more modest in his reflections on the *Faithful Narrative*; with respect to which, I take this occasion to declare, That after the strictest searches I can make, I find it to have given a very just and faithful account of the *rise and progress* of our debates.?

John Lavington.

WITH respect to what is mention'd in the foregoing account concerning Mr. Stogdon, Mr. pag. 14. Spiring, Mr. Jewell, and the dispute with *seven women*; and likewise to show, that matters were not so

very peaceable before Mr. Atkins preach'd his sermon, as Mr. Peirce says they were, *Western Inquisition*, p. 14. 'tis thought proper to subjoin here the following certificates.

Exon the 12th of November 1719.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, that I George Jewell having been inform'd, That Mr. Spiring (a person I was intimately acquainted with) was fallen into the Errors of Arius, and meeting the said Mr. Spiring on Easter Monday the 22 April 1717, I said to him, Mr. Spiring, I understand you hold very strange notions; he reply'd, I can't stay now, but I will come up to your house. And about a week after that, he came up to my house with Mr. Stogdon. In discourse I asserted, That CHRIST was GOD, and equal to the FATHER, and I urg'd, for proof of his Deity, his Omnipotence, from Rev. ii. 23. To which Mr. Stogdon reply'd, How did I know, but God might communicate Omnipotence to a creature: And Mr. Spiring caution'd me against making the SON equal with the FATHER, saying, THE FATHER will say at the last day, I did not make my Son equal with me, and why will you make him equal with me? and urg'd, that CHRIST was not One God with the FATHER, from that Scripture, Matth. xiii. 32. But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. This was some time before Mr. Henry Atkins preach'd the sermon mention'd in the Western Inquisition.

George Jewell.

THESE are to certify all persons, whom it may concern, That Mr. John Spiring, did, in the presence of us, and five other women dispute and argue, That CHRIST was not One God with the FATHER, but an inferior Being to Him, and Mr. Spiring declar'd, that a great deal of hurt was done in religion, by mens making the SON equal to the FATHER, and he demanded, How we could prove the equality of the SON with the FATHER? One of us urg'd that text, Zach. xiii. 7. Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man, that is my fellow, saith the LORD of Hosts. Another said, It's clear from John x. 30, I and my Father are One, And i John v. 7. For there

There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one. Mr. Spiring reply'd, It was one, only in will and affection: And when one of us said, She could not bear to have his glory lessen'd, that had done so much for us; He reply'd, God the FATHER, would never give us thanks, for giving that glory to the SON, that was due to Himself. And this debate was some time before Mr. Henry Atkins preach'd the sermon mention'd in Mr. Pierce's Western Inquisition.

Witness our Hands,

Eliz. Marks,
Joan Force.

THIS is to certify, all persons, whom it may concern,
That Mr. John Spiring, upon a thursday morning
(before Mr. Henry Atkins preach'd that sermon mention'd
in Mr. Peirce's Western Inquisition) invited me to his
house, and then discoursing with him of these new notions,
I ask'd him, If the ministers held these notions? To which
he reply'd, Most of the ministers of the City did.

*Witness my hand, this 19th of
January 1719.*

George Jewell.

ABOUT this time it was, that Mr. Stogdon made the declaration of his being an Arian, and glory'd in the name.

Mr. Henry Atkins being the next person brought on the stage, for a sermon preach'd at *Exon* against *Arianism*, vindicates himself in the following account.

ON perusal of Mr. Peirce's *Western Inquisition*, I observ'd, pag. 14. the article following relating to me, *viz.*

" BEING at London a good part of April and May
" 1717, Mr. Henry Atkins, who resides in *Exon*, but
" preaches stately at *Paddington*, preach'd in my turn,
" the *Wednesday* lecture: What his design was he knows
" best himself, but by all the accounts I have receiv'd
" of his sermon, it was very warm and furious, charg-
" ing some among the dissenters in *Exon* with 'damna-
" ble Heresies, denying the Lord that bought them; tho'
" he

" he own'd after he had preach'd the sermon, that he
 " had not study'd the controversy. I could not find,
 " that his prudence was much applauded by any at
 " first, especially considering, that he was not preaching
 " in his own pulpit; but afterwards when the contro-
 " versy began to run higher, I perceiv'd that he had
 " work'd some persons into a more favourable opinion
 " of him than they had before.

THE above article containing in it some malicious reflections upon me, and exhibiting heavy charges against me, I think I am oblig'd to vindicate my self, and undeceive the world.

1. THE world by these words, [*What was his design, he knows best himself;*] is given, I apprehend, to understand, that my design was not good in preaching that sermon; but I solemnly declare, that I had no other design either in composing or delivering that discourse, than to demonstrate the true and proper Divinity of our blessed SAVIOUR. As to the occasion of my preaching on that subject, it is fit that I should give some account of it.

I had reason to believe, that there were not a few, who call'd in question that important doctrine of christianity even in *Exon*, and therefore concluded, that since I was desir'd to preach a lecture, I could not make choice of a more pertinent subject, that I might if possible convince such persons of their mistake.

IN December 1716, a considerable person now in communion with Mr. Peirce, declar'd himself (in the hearing of several persons at my house) of the same sentiments with Dr. Clark and Mr. Whiston; assur'd me, that some of Mr. Peirce's present hearers and communicants had embrac'd the same opinions, and was very positive, that the *new scheme* would universally prevail. Some time after this I had information, from persons of undoubted credit that a pupil of Mr. Hallet's, had us'd his endeavours to make *proselytes* in *Tiverton* to Dr. Clark and Mr. Whiston; and the subject was also become matter of warm debate in a *coffee-house*. When I consider'd these things, I thought myself oblig'd, to appear to the best of my ability in defence of the Truth, and oppose Gain-sayers.

2. It is not true, that I was warm and furious in the delivering of the sermon : I was heartily griev'd, indeed, that there should be occasion to insist upon that topick, and deliver'd myself with a compassionate concern, but was far from anger or prejudice against any particular person.

AND whereas Mr. Peirce asserts, That I charg'd some among the dissenters of *Exon* with *damnable heresies, denying the Lord that bought them*. I assert, that the words *damnable heresies*, were not in my sermon ; and if there were some passages in my discourse, from which it might be inferr'd, that I had the dissenters of *Exon* in view ; and grant I had in express terms drawn up a charge in Mr. Peirce's words ; it is evident from the above account, that I had sufficient reason for so doing, and I am satisfy'd, that I should but have acted agreeably to my duty, had I express'd myself so plainly, as that some of the then *auditory*, could not have avoided concluding themselves aim'd at : and I own to Mr. Peirce and all the world, that my design was to endeavour the rendring those whom I apprehended had fallen into the error, sensible of it, to prevent others being infected, and to establish all in the truth.

3. I declare that to be false, That after the preaching of my sermon, I said, *I had not study'd the controversy*. I very well remember, I was in company with two gentlemen of Mr. Peirce's intimate acquaintance and mine. I had some debate with them on this subject. There were at that time some difficulties started, which I am not ashame'd to own I could not then reslove. And the reply I made on that occasion, was, That I had not as yet study'd the controversy so fully, as to be able to resolve all difficulties : Between which, and my not having study'd the controversy *at all*, there is I conceive a vast difference.

FINALLY, as to my prudence in preaching the sermon in Mr. Peirce's pulpit, I can't call it into question, nor can I be sensible, that the place in which it was preach'd, could render it an imprudent act. I had not the applause and admiration of any in my view, nor do I know of any persons, who have entertain'd, either

a better or more uncharitable opinion of me since the preaching of that sermon, than they had before.

Henry Atkins.

THIS sermon was preach'd by Mr. *Atkins*, May 15. 1717. Mr. *Peirce* was so offend'd at it, that he owns he made a motion to his brethren, and thought it had been agreed to, that Mr. *Atkins* should be ask'd no more to preach in their pulpit. See *West. Inq.* pag. 29. So that to assert the Godhead of CHRIST, and endeavour to prove it from scripture arguments, was, in Mr. *Peirce's* Judgment, so great a crime that he deserved for this to be deny'd their pulpit. Such a procedure must needs tend to increase the dissatisfaction of those, who had any concern for the honour of the blessed REDEEMER. They had reason to question his friendship to the Godhead of CHRIST, who could upon Mr. *Atkins's* preaching on that subject carry his resentments so high.

FROM Mr. *Atkins*, Mr. *P.* proceeds to pag. 14. give an account of what pass'd between him and three considerable persons of the congregation, which plainly shew'd the turn of his mind in the wild conception he had form'd of a medium between the supreme GOD and a creature. And what he recites from p. 15 to the 25th of the sermon he afterwards preach'd at the desire of those gentlemen, confirms what is said of it in the citizens Account.

AND whereas pag. 26. he suggests, as pag. 26. if the sermon had given satisfaction, and he had hopes we should have no more disturbance, and that he did not hear of the objection of his third friend, till at least half a year afterward. His third friend, well remembers that four or five days after the preaching of that sermon, a minister of London came to Exon, to whom complaint was made by him of the sermon, and particularly of this; That when he mention'd some texts which assert the Godhead of CHRIST, he introduc'd them with these words,

words, *We need not be shy of giving him the title, &c.* and the uneasiness this had given: of which the said minister gave Mr. Peirce an account, and brought back his answer; so that Mr. Peirce knew it was the matter of the sermon, and not the quickness of the delivery, that gave the uneasiness: tho' he is pleas'd to give it that artful turn, pag. 29.

AND tho' he dislik'd the Socinian interpretation of the text, which denies his *pre-existence*; yet he has nothing about it but what is consistent with the Arian scheme. If he had believ'd CHRIST's supreme Godhead, he would have been the first, that ever us'd such an odd phrase, viz. *We need not be shy in giving him the title.* This plainly intimates, that the title was too high for the notion he had entertain'd of CHRIST's nature, if the Scriptures had not us'd it; but out of seeming reverence to them, he would not refuse it, so he might interpret it as an *Arian* would do. His sermon gave just ground to suspect he look'd upon CHRIST to be only such a God as was a different Being from, and inferior to the FATHER; and what he has publish'd since, makes it evident.

MR. Peirce speaks of an aged and worthy person (suppos'd to be Mr. Ball) with whom he pag. 27. had talk'd freely on the point, and that he could not perceive he differ'd a Hair's breadth from him.

To this Mr. Ball replies in the manner following:

I must confess at that time, I did not understand their language, but thought they had meant quite otherwise than it seems they did, hiding themselves under *equivocal phrases*. But I protest before the whole world, that I was ever remote from their notions, and abhor'd the supposing of CHRIST, or the HOLY SPIRIT to be *creatures*, or distinguish'd in nature and perfections from the FATHER, and detested the worship of any thing but the ONE GOD.

WHEREAS the Account had charg'd Mr. Peirce with stating in that sermon, the *new notion* of the unity of the Godhead, Mr. Peirce owns the charge, pag. 29. and says, *If he pleases he may call it a new notion, and I believe it is so to him; but I dare say, upon inquiry, it will be found as old as the New Testament.* It may suffice to answ'r him, That we are as confident of the contrary,

Mr. Peirce, pag. 30. says, *About this time, pag. 30. a reverend person, who was afterward at the head of the seven worthies, who advis'd our judges, &c. and pag. 31. says, That he understood by others, that it was not unusual with him, (meaning Mr. Ball) to advance positive charges by way of pump.*

To which Mr. Ball makes this reply:

I went to Mr. Peirce the morning when I first heard the discourse about Mr. Stogdon, I thought Mr. Peirce, had it in his power, to prevent the spreading of Mr. Stogdon's opinions, and desir'd him to consider the consequence.

I told him, I thought, it was plain, that we should have more, or fewer meetings quickly, (meaning that some would go off to the church, and others set up new meetings, when they saw that their ministers, if they did not openly profess these opinions, yet did countenance them by their silence, which would be a great encouragement to the spreaders of them) and told him, as he says, that Mr. Stogdon would be accounted the third, Mr. Joseph Hallet, Jun. the second, and Mr. Peirce the first; this I laid upon the great intimacy between the two last nam'd; I remember not, that I said any thing of books: but I per'ev'd presently that Mr. Peirce knew Mr. Joseph Hallet's mind, better than his own father, at that time; for when I told Mr. Peirce, that I would talk with every minister in Exon upon this matter, he desir'd that I would not talk with Mr. Joseph Hallet before his father. Mr. Peirce adds, That he learned from others, that I us'd to advance positive charges against men, when I knew of no such thing. I desire the reader to cast his eye upon pag. 53. of Mr. Peirce's book, where he says, That there is no viler way of calumniating others, than by innuendo's; and calls it a mean, pitiful, disingenuous way of writing. And doth this way of Mr. P's deserve any better epithets to bring such a charge against me, without naming the person who told him so? He doth this, in many places of his book, particularly pag. 73. where he says, a great confidant of ours reported, &c. but he names no one. Mr. Peirce knows, that some people have said, he was a Jesuit; and if I had heard those angry persons to say the same, and had printed this

this idle tale, what exclamations would he presently have made ! I would not be understood amiss here, I never thought him to be a *Jesuit* or a *Papist*, but I only intimate to him how ill this treatment would appear in his own case. Yet such treatment I and others have from him throughout the book.

John Ball..

Mr. *Peirce* charges Mr. *Lavington* as censoring him and Mr. *Withers* for conversing pag. 32. freely with some of the people talk'd of for their being in the new notion, and letting them come to their houses. To which, it is answer'd, That Mr. *Peirce's* intimacy with those people, might give Mr. *Lavington* ground to fear that they receiv'd them from him, or were like to be confirm'd in them by him ; especially, when he told him, that he took them to be very good men, and would not give him any satisfaction, that in his private conversation he endeavour'd to convince them of their error. What he attributes to Mr. *Lavington's* suspicious temper, was but a godly jealousy, lest Mr. *Peirce* should in a more private way attempt doing that, which some secular views might hinder him from doing in a more publick manner.

IN page 32, 33. Mr. *Peirce* owns the subordination, or inferiority, as was charg'd in the *Citizens Account*, p. 4. And what the notion of Mr. *Peirce's* friends concerning the said subordination is, will appear from the following certificates.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That I John Scutt did hear Mr. John Spiring say, That CHRIST was an inferior God.

John Scutt.

WE whose names are under-written, do certify, That we heard William Goswell, jun. say, That JESUS CHRIST is God, no otherwise, than as King George,, or a magistrate of a city.

Richard Fuge,
Elizabeth Fuge.

AND if Mr. Peirce was not of the opinion of his friends about CHRIST's *inferiority*, he could easily have clear'd himself. They seem to have had truer notions of the weight and importance of the doctrine one way or other than himself, and therefore they honestly express'd a proportionable warmth, as judging it either an important truth, or a dangerous error: whereas, he seems to think it of little consequence what notions men entertain of the nature of their *Saviour*, who is the object of their worship and trust for *eternal salvation*. Certainly the scripture revelation must be very obscure and defective, if it leaves us in the dark about matters of such a nature. Mr. Peirce mentions *subordination* and *inferiority* as equivalent terms; whereas Dr. Waterland shows that subordination is always between persons of the *same nature*, but inferiority between those of a *different*.

THIS is Mr. Peirce's notion of CHRIST's *subordination*, that he is not only a distinct person, but a Being *different* from, and *inferior* to the FATHER. Which (if he be God at all) must infer the absurd notion of two Gods, one supreme and the other subordinate, and how this is consistent with what both reason and revelation discover of the Unity of the Godhead, Mr. Peirce would do well to show. In his argument he confounds the *Personality* or *Subsistence* of the FATHER and SON with their nature. The SON may be subordinate to the FATHER in *relation*, and yet the same in *nature*; equal in power and glory. This is more than to make FATHER and SON but two different *names* for the same Being. They are different persons in the same undivided Godhead, all the essential perfections of which do belong to each of them, tho' the manner of subsisting in it, be past our finding out. The Nature is but one, tho' the Persons are distinct, and the one in a *relative sense*, subordinate to the other. They are not two supreme Gods, but One GOD, and two Persons subsisting in the self-same Godhead. Tho' there be nothing parallel to this in created nature; yet why may not that be possible in an *infinite*, uncreated BEING, which is not so in a *finite* one? It is much more reasonable to believe this upon the credit of revelation, tho' we acknowledge it above our *comprehension*, than to rob CHRIST

CHRIST of his Godhead, and run into the absurdity of asserting more Gods than One.

WHEREAS Mr. P. affirms, That *the woman deny'd, what the Narrative says she spake pag. 34 to me, with relation to peoples denying the Divinity of CHRIST*: I have since the publishing Mr. Peirce's *West. Inq.* been with the woman, who voluntarily before witnesses, sign'd the following certificate; and whereas Mr. P. affirms, That *the story is considerably alter'd from what it was at my first telling it,* I do hereby declare, that the first person I told it unto, was Mr. Withers, who is ready to assure Mr. Peirce or any other, that I told it him in the words of the following certificate; nor did I relate it otherwise to any other person.

J. Lavington.

THIS is to certify; all whom it may concern, That I did go to Mr. Lavington, and told him, I knew not how to come to the Lord's-table; for that they told me, CHRIST was not GOD, and that the text he had preach'd upon was not in the Bible.

signed by

Sarah Blake.

signed in the presence of us, John Tawman,
Exon, Novemb. 9, 1719. Hannah Tawman.

WHEREAS Mr. Peirce, suggests, That it was upon some mens reflecting on my *pag. 35:* conduct in preaching on *1 John v. 7.* that I took occasion to express my notion of the TRINITY in these words, That GOD was some way One, and some way Three; and to assert it to be a fundamental. I hereby declare, That it was in this very sermon on *1 John v. 7.* that I had these expressions, and therefore before any reflections could be made on it; nor did I (upon the strictest review) make use of 'em in any other sermon before or after: and since Mr. Peirce is pleas'd to represent it as so very ridiculous, I am contented to lay it before the world in the very words that were deliver'd without the least alteration. I had been

been showing, according to my propos'd method, 1.) That God, represented himself as One God. 2.) That notwithstanding this, he represented himself as a Plurality of Persons. 3.) That these Persons or Subsistences, are but Three, viz. FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST. 4.) That these were distinct from one another, that each was God, tho' the GODHEAD be but One.

Having gone over these particulars, I then had the following words.

Thus then I have endeavour'd to lay before you the Scripture account of the TRINITY. God represents himself as One God, and yet under Three distinct Subsistences. The same Authority which obliges us to believe God to be but One, obliges us also to believe him to be Three. But then (which must be carefully observ'd) 'tis not in the same sense. I say the Scripture doth not represent God as One and Three in the same sense; for this would be a contradiction, and not only above, but contrary to reason. All therefore I say, that the Scriptures affirm, is, *That God is some way One, and some way Three.* And this we must believe, for 'tis one of the grand fundamental truths of our religion; and upon this especially depends the doctrine of our salvation by a Redeemer. Take away this fundamental doctrine, and most of the chief doctrines of the Christian religion will fall after it. This is the discourse which Mr. Peirce so ridicules. I was, it seems, despis'd and laugh'd at; and so was an inspir'd apostle, for preaching Jesus and the resurrection. If Mr. Peirce had look'd into the 1st Psalm, he would have found it one of the characters of a blessed man, *That he fitteth not in the seat of the scornful.*

John Lavington.

WHEREAS Mr. Peirce, excuses a young
pag. 35. minister, meaning Mr. Jos. Hallet, jun. for
blotting out 1 John v. 7. out of his greek Te-
stament, with this, *That he did it seven or eight years*
since, while he was a student, and had never preach'd;
and his father hath said since in his excuse, That he
did it in his younger years, and was sorry for it. How
true both these accounts are, will appear from the fol-
lowing certificate.

This

THIS is to certify, That whereas Mr. Peirce positively asserts, That the young minister charg'd with blotting out 1 John v. 7 did it seven or eight years since : That assertion is false, unless he has repeated the same fact; for 'tis not six years since I saw him blot out that text from a greek Testament, and have very lately heard him say, That he gloried in doing it.

Exon, the 27th of January 1719.

Henry Atkins.

As for the charge against one of the seven (by which is thought to be intended Mr. Jos. Manston) That he also should blot that text out of his Bible. This charge is false, as appears by the following certificate, which he gives (to use his own expression) in the words of a dying man.

WHEREAS Mr. Peirce asserts in pag. 35. of his *Western Inquisition*, [That there was another minister, who declar'd about this time, that he had long ago put this text out of his Bible, and was indeed the first person who shock'd one of our people, whom I could name: But no objection was made against him for this grievous crime, he having afterwards prudently aton'd for it, by being one of the seven advisers.] And I find that both Mr. P's friends and mine apply that passage to me; I shall give this short and true account of it.

Br. Burnet's *Letters* rais'd considerable doubts in me of the genuineness of it. And when I saw the *Enquiry* of Mr. Emlin speak so confidently against its being in any *greek manuscript* or very ancient translation, I was led to look upon it as an interpolation. But I never did strike or put it out of my *Bible*, never spake a word to that purpose, nor had a thought of that nature. I have argued with some ministers according to my then apprehensions about it, and once I remember at Mr. Powell's, (before I knew *Arianism* or the new scheme to be prevailing in Exeter) a discourse happen'd about this text, I did express my doubt of it, and I believe might say, that I had given it up, and could not defend it; but then I presently added, that if that text was not to be defended,

defended, the doctrine of the TRINITY might be prov'd from many other texts of Scripture. This last passage, I perfectly remember, and aver to be true. However, I do now find that I was misled by the groundless confidence of Mr. Emlin, and upon reading Mt. Martin's *Critical Inquiries*, I am fully convinc'd that the text is as genuine as any other part of the Epistle, and that it was in the ancient versions, and in the greek manuscripts. And, I hope, if any were so weak as to build upon so slender an authority as an occasional word of mine, they will on my advice read Mr. Martin, and have reason to bless God that they did it, as I heartily do.

WHAT Mr. Peirce means by *shocking one of their people*, I cannot imagine, I positively aver, That I never used any argument or suggestion to draw them off from the doctrine of CHRIST's Godhead into his notion, that he was a middle Being between the FATHER and the most high God and the creatures; nor ever directly or indirectly endeavour'd to bring any person into it, but argu'd against it with himself, when he first told me that it was his notion at Mr. Peter Powell's, the evening that he read me the notes which are since printed of his sermon that gave such offence. I have always own'd a *relative* subordination, such as is commonly defended; and if any persons will make false inferences from thence, I am sorry for it, and shall be more cautious in speaking of it for the future. Possibly I may also come nearer Mr. How's notion in my conception of the doctrine of the Trinity than some other of my brethren; but if any thing in my manner of conceiving of that mystery, or of my notion of the Subordination be inconsistent with the true and proper Divinity of CHRIST, or necessarily infers more Gods than one, or that *the Father and the Son are not one God*, I do hereby declare my readiness to renounce those notions.

Joseph Mansfield.

The Testimony which this worthy person (who dy'd soon after) has left behind him, is a proof of his exemplary candor and ingenuity, which add to the many excellent qualities that grace his character. He owns he had his difficulties in relation to 1 Joh. v.7. but he bleſſ'd God

GOD for the satisfaction he received upon reading Monsieur Martin's treatise. Mr. Peirce has done him wrong by affirming he had blotted it out of his bible, and he has shown but little regard to his own honour and the truth, when pleading in defence of another that had done it, he represents those that blam'd him for that rashness, as endeavouring to blast his reputation for an innocent and commendable searching of the Scriptures; whereas it was not for this but blotting out the text, that he was deservedly censur'd.

UPON this occasion, he is pleas'd to give an account of what he himself has said and tho't upon it, and he allows the authors of the Narrative, to name him as the minister who gave up that text, only he reflects upon them for misplacing the account in point of time, to put the better colour, (as he says) upon the advice sent from London, and the proceedings of the September Assembly.

BEFORE we answer this, 'tis fit to observe his presumption, and want of charity, in pretending to know the inward motives of persons in what they say or do, and drawing them often by such surmises to somewhat criminal.

'TIS strange, how Mr. Peirce can affirm this, when the *Narrative* is so far from laying the advice sent from London upon the whole foregoing account of the affairs at Exeter, in order to put the better colour upon it; that it expressly declares, p. 9. it was only in answer to the first letter sent to a private brother from those parts. And tho' the authors of the *Narrative*, (as he calls them) reckon themselves no farther concern'd, than to make good the matter of fact, which Mr. Peirce himself has confirm'd; yet had they undertaken for the circumstance of time, they had not been out in that particular, and what Mr. Lavington has given under his hand, p. 11. may convince him of his gross mistake: for long before the meeting of the thirteen and the September assembly, 1718, he said to him, he had given up that text. And the Editors of the *Narrative* can assure him also from the originals, that before the meeting of that assembly, they receiv'd accounts of several, who had blotted that text out of their *Bible*, tho' they did not know that he was the particular person, who upon reading Dr. Clark had given it up, till he himself was pleas'd to oblige them with the information-

BUT to proceed, Mr. P. says, The *Narrative* has here *a great deal more of the like stories*. They are not invented stories, or slanderous reports; but of such a nature, as being prov'd, will not only establish the faithfulness of the *Narrative*, but evince the necessity there was of entring into measures to put a check to those growing evils. And it is a plain indication, how much Mr. Peirce's heart was in these matters, that he undertakes the defence of them, and throws all the reproach he is able upon those who after much forbearance and patience found themselves oblig'd in conscience to appear openly against them. But as Mr. Peirce demands a proof of the charges that are advanc'd in the *Narrative*, the evidences shall now be produc'd, and they are such, as must needs engage a greater regard to them than he would wish for, and oblige him, in point of honour and honesty, to retract the invidious reflections he has cast upon the *Narrative*.

WHEREAS then he requires *a proof of young candidates coming from their academical studies tainted with erroneous notions concerning the sacred TRINITY.* In answer to this, we refer the reader to the following part of a letter writ by the reverend Mr. Pitts of Chard, concerning his own son, and another young man, who were both Mr. Hallet's pupils.

SIR,

Dec. 23.

“ I Receiv'd your letter, and am very desirous to do all
 “ the service I can in so just a cause, and therefore am willing you should make use of my name in
 “ the case of my son, who thanks G o D, he is better inform'd: And as a farther proof, that the infection had reach'd Mr. H——'t's young men, you may mention a letter seen by me, from one of Mr. H——'t's students to another that was gone from thence, not doubting of his stedfastnes in the truth, tho' he question'd not but by that time (which was not long after he had been at home) he had endured the fiery trial. This seems to be much to the purpose, it being an expression that carries in it no small reflection upon the person, by whom

" whom it was concluded an endeavour would be made
 " to convince him. The letter was subscrib'd *Philalethes*.
 " This I certify as truth, tho' I do not think it pro-
 " per to mention the person to whom the letter was sent.
 " It is enough that the letter was seen by me, and that
 " what I write you was in it."

yours,

Aar. Pitts.

WE also refer the reader to the following certificate,
 from the reverend Mr. *Westcott*, who was another pu-
 pil in the same academy.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern; That I was told by a person of credit, (who was often at Mr. Spiring's house, and whom I could name, if there were occasion) that there were frequent meetings at Mr. Spiring's house, where Whiston was read with applause, and his notions of the TRINITY defended. I myself was present once at Mr. Foster's (where I know there were frequent meetings of young men, students and candidates for the ministry) and when I offer'd some of Mr. Boyse's arguments for the Divinity of CHRIST, they all began to answer them, and to defend the contrary opinion; and at another time, when I was absent, I was told by one of them, that I kept off for fear I should be convinc'd.

Samuel Westcott.

THERE was another of Mr. Hallet's pupils, who declar'd, He knew no other Trinity, but faith, hope, and charity. But that we may not be thought to copy after an ill example, in throwing reproaches on parties or persons without evidence; if Mr. Peirce or Mr. Hallet please to inquire of Mr. N. mention'd in Mr. P's *West. Inq.* he will satisfy them of the truth of it. This expression doubtless was very unadvis'd, as the person himself has since acknowledg'd; but there is no assurance that it was contrary to his real sentiments.

AND that others deceiv'd their ordainers, we need go no farther than Mr. Jos. Hallet, jun. as a flaming instance.

SEVERAL others, who seem'd very sound as to this doctrine, in the confessions made at their ordination, afterwards appear'd of very different sentiments, to the great grief of several of their ordinators. For instance, Mr. Beadon, Mr. How, Mr. Par, Mr. Cock, Mr. Force, the last of whom, hath made the bold declaration in the following certificate.

THese are to certify, That Mr. John Force, of Bovey, at or about Whitsuntide last, in a Discourse with me, ask'd, What Mr. Colton had done? I told him, He had subscrib'd with the other ministers. To which he answer'd, I pity him then. When he made that answer, I further added, How comes this to pass, seeing 'tis not very long since you declar'd (meaning at his ordination) That you believ'd the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, to be the One GOD? To which he reply'd, I never preach'd, nor believed it in all my Life. To which I again answer'd, Mr. Force, I and many others must be witnesses against you.

Anna Edgley.

THIS is to certify, all persons whom it may concern, That when I, James Pope, did urge to the reverend Mr. Force of Bovey, the necessity of a satisfaction of infinite value, and that I thought CHRIST had made such. He reply'd, Infinite satisfaction, is infinite nonsense.

Nov. 19, 1719.

James Pope.

AND whereas Mr. Peirce condemns the Narrative for affirming, That children had been taught to say, They would not for the world repeat the sixth answer about the TRINITY, in the Assembly's Catechism. The Narrative will appear true, by the following certificate.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That we, whose names are under-written, did hear Mrs. Mary Powel say, She would not answer the sixth question in the Assembly's Catechism, relating to the TRINITY, for never so much.

Jean Dennis.
Elizabeth Pitts.

W H E R E A S also Mr. Peirce doth farther insinuate; That Mr. Lavington made complaint to Mr. Withers of a story of this nature, and asserts, That Mr. Withers on inquiry found it to have nothing of truth in it. The contrary doth appear by the following account.

MR. Peirce being led into a mistake in his *West. Inq.* relating to me, and being call'd pag. 37. upon to set that matter of fact in a true light. The case in short was this: Mr. Lavington never complain'd to me of any children that were taught to declare their aversion to the *Assembly's Catechism*; but of a girl's asserting, That we must not say, that the HOLY GHOST is GOD. Upon my inquiry into that matter, she confidently deny'd the words: But one Mr. Bennet some time after affirm'd to me, That he heard her speak these words which made me suspect, that she did as children are too often wont to do, endeavour to excuse one fault by the commission of another.

John Withers.

MR. Peirce in the same Page, is offended at the *Narrative* for letting it be known, that many loose and unsteady persons, had been secretly practic'd upon in several towns as well as Exeter. The Narrative relates this as it was receiv'd, and if the fact was true, it was necessary to be known, to show the zeal of the adverse party in spreading their errors, and to inform the world of the necessity there was of entring into measures for opposing them. He complains in the same place, That it was cry'd about the streets, that they were a loose people. And is this any wonder, when such base insinuations as those above in relation to Mr. Lavington, are thought fit to appear in his history.

W H A T is said of the *case of Bristol*, and pag. 38. that this doctrine was become the common subject of discourse and dispute in conversation; of the dissenters being tax'd in the publick markets with denying their *Church* first, and their SAVIOUR afterwards; as like-wise of Judge Price's charge at the castle of Exon; and the Archdeacon of Barnstaple's speech to the clergy; and some of the Exeter

Exeter clergy warning the people from the pulpits against the dissenters, who were now come to deny the Lord that bought them, and made the pris to sweat with their blasphemies. As to all these Mr. P. does not deny the facts, nor can he charge the *Narrative* with falsehood in these accounts; but only endeavours to excuse and evade them, and that by arts so evidently sophistical, by such mean and trifling criticisms, and by such an indifferent turn of wit, that it may be safely left to the common judgment of men to confute them. And if the contagion of error was not only beginning in *Exeter*, and the parts adjacent, but had got as far as *Bristol*; and the most awful points of our religion were disputed in common conversation, and places of the most publick resort; and the dissenters were reproach'd from the pulpit not for their non-conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the establish'd church, but for departing from the essential and necessary articles of our common faith: surely it was high time for ministers to endeavour to roul away this reproach, and to appear in the most publick manner for the defence of the Truth.

HITHER TO Mr. Peirce has no reason to charge the *Narrative* as faithless; and as to what remains, it shall be attended with its vouchers.

WHEREAS Mr. Peirce declares, That pag. 40. what the *Narrative* asserts, viz. That the *Baptists* had dismiss'd their minister on account of his being in the new notion, is not true, as he is satisfy'd. To confirm the truth of the *Narrative*, the following letter is produc'd.

Reverend Sir,

" HAVING read Mr. Peirce's *West. Inq.* and ob-
 " serving, pag. 40. that he represents what the
 " *Narrative* says, relating to the *Baptists* dismissing
 " their minister, as not true. I was desirous to know
 " the certainty of that affair; and do hereby certify,
 " that several members of the *Baptists* church gave me
 " this account of it: That Mr. Lucas (the minister re-
 " ferr'd to) was call'd here upon tryal. About a year
 " after

" after it was propos'd in the church, Whether they
 " should give the said Mr. L— any farther call? nor
 " above five or six of the church express'd their desire
 " of it, and those members from whom I had the in-
 " formation, declar'd, that they thought the reason why
 " they did not do it, was, because they believ'd him
 " in these new notions."

I am your humble servant,

Exon. Feb. 2. 1719.

Aaron Tozer.

OBSERVE, that this does evidently contradict Mr. P---'s printed account, for whereas he says, *some few were uneasy, but the far greater part were very desirous of his settling with them.* This says, that not above five or six were desirous of it.

THE Narrative farther asserts, That *the young men and candidates for the ministry, used to assemble at the baptist minister's house, as was suppos'd, to confer upon this subject.* Mr. P. will not allow this to be true, and represents their meeting to have been but *once*, and that by *accident*.

THAT this is not a groundless supposition, or a mere improvement of an *impertinently jealous temper*, as he suggests; but that they frequently met there, appears by the following lines.

Reverend Sir,

" I Do hereby certify, That N. N. who liv'd with the
 " gentlewoman, where Mr. Lucas boarded, all
 " the while he was in *Exon*; when I inquir'd of her
 " about the young mens coming to see Mr. Lucas,
 " she gave me this account of it, That several young
 " men very frequently came to see Mr. L—, and
 " that she heard Mr. L— tell her mistress, they were
 " Mr. Hallet's students: Sometimes they came once a
 " week; she said, she did not know all their names;
 " but she remembred and mention'd the names of three
 " persons, one of whom was ordain'd while Mr. L---
 " was at *Exon*, the other two, candidates for the min-
 " istry or students at Mr. Hallet's. And she said, she
 " should be able to tell me of more, if she heard their
 " names.

" names. But the names of the persons above are
" conceal'd, in hopes the young men may alter the
" ill notions they had imbib'd."

" THE character Mr. P—— gives of Mr. Lucas, and
" his desire that he should be one to preach at our
" morning lecture, is an indication of the great respect
" which Mr. P—— had for him; but that which makes
" this friendship between Mr. L---- and Mr. P---- the
" more remarkable, was, that some time before this, be-
" ing at London, I was desir'd to procure a person, that
" might come and settle at Exon, to teach the dissenters
" children; and accordingly I made it my busines, and
" found out one that was proper for such an under-
" taking, but was, as to her opinion, a baptist. After
" my return from London, several of our friends met
" upon this affair, to whom I gave an account of what
" I had done. Mr. P—— on hearing she was a baptist,
" represented the baptists to be a sort of people that he
" would not have us have to do with. And this was a
" main, if not the only thing, that hinder'd the gentle-
" woman's coming hither, tho' she declar'd she would
" attend our ministers. You may make what use of this
" you think fit.

I am your humble Servant,

Aaron Tozer.

By this and the following certificate, let the world judge, upon what motive Mr. Peirce hath since enlarg'd his charity, even so far as to propose Mr. L——'s preaching at the young mens Morning lecture, as will appear by the following certificate.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That when Mr. Withers and Mr. Peirce were once at my house, it was propos'd, that Mr. Lucas should preach at our morning lecture: Mr. Peirce consented to it; but I replyed, I should have been willing of it some time ago, but I was averse to it at present, because he lay under suspicion of being in the new scheme. Mr. Withers reply'd, I never heard of it. Mr. Peirce subjoyn'd, Yes, I have; and then said, I wish the young men had done it of themselves, without asking advice.

John Lavington.

W H A T is certify'd above by Mr. Tozer, puts it out of all doubt, that what the *Narrative* says, is not the result of a *dreaming supposition*. And if by the *informer that delights in suppositions*, Mr. P. means Mr. Lavington (as seems evident by his after reflection) this is a groundless suspicion of Mr. P. for Mr. Lavington declares, he was not the informer, nor did he in the least concern himself about those who visited Mr. Lucas. But rather than want an occasion to ridicule and expose Mr. Lavington, Mr. P. will feign and suppose one, as he does in several places of his *West. Inq.* charging Mr. Lavington upon mere suspicion of carrying stories and informations, of which he was intirely free as any that are yet unborn; and yet doth Mr. P. complain of a suspicious, jealous temper in others. But 'tis the way of the man. Thus he complains of want of charity in others, and yet who more uncharitable! He complains of reproachful abusive treatment, and yet who more reviling and abusive! *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*

To the passages Mr. Peirce has thus far recited from the *Narrative*, he adds, That *all* pag. 41. *these things were related as true Matters of fact, and were referr'd to several brethren in the country, and the citizens of Exeter for a confirmation of them*; but he is pleas'd to say, *They were several of them false, and others strangely impertinent*. It is plain from hence, that as to many, or most of them, he allows the account in the *Narrative* to be true, and as to the rest, they are but meanly evaded. Those he charges as false, are 1st the story of the *Girl*, in which he is sufficiently confuted by the testimony of the reverend Mr. Withers. 2dly, The dismission of the *baptist* minister, answer'd by Mr. Tozer's Letter. And 3dly, the meeting of the young men at Mr. Lucas's lodgings, answered by the same. And that some young persons had a club, wherein they endeavour'd to propagate the new notions will appear undeniable, when p. 72. of the *West. Inq.* shall come to be considered. What Mr. P. says of the *Impertinence* of some accounts, is but like his other accusations, without ground. And he marvellously overvalues himself, if he thinks his bare authority sufficient to impose characters upon persons and things. Nothing could be more pertinent than

the relations given in the *Narrative*, to show the miserable state into which things were hastning, and the necessity there was of the ministers appearing to stop the mischief that was spreading not only at Exeter, but in divers other parts. There is nothing thus far, to weaken the reputation or credit of the *Narrative*, nor have the *Editors* any reason to blush ; and if on the review Mr. P. blush not for himself, they shall be sorry.

B U T to proceed, Mr. Peirce calls for a
 pag. 41. *voucher* with respect to the charge against a certain minister who declar'd his disbelief of the doctrine of the **TRINITY in Unity**. To confirm this the following certificate has been produc'd, containing the very words in which that minister, *viz.* the reverend Mr. Gilling, deliver'd himself to the reverend Mr. Aaron Pitts.

Mr. Gilling said to me, *Your Trinity in Unity, I neither do, nor will believe.*

I thought that declaration of his prov'd him to be more honest than some others, and likewise thought myself oblig'd in conscience to make known his opinion, that others might not be unwarily drawn into it ; and am nothing concern'd at being accus'd of *betraying private conversation, and representing Mr. Gilling under an ill character.*

Aaron Pitts.

AND whereas Mr. Peirce in his *West. Inq.*
 pag. 41, hath publish'd an account of a conference
 42. which Mr. Stogdon had with Mr. N. and I am
 suppos'd to be the minister design'd : These are
 to certify, That Mr. Stogdon did in a conference with me
 freely confess, that he was an Arian, and gloried in the
 name ; that our Lord JESUS CHRIST in his highest character
 was but a mere creature, tho' advanced above the angels ; and
 farther asserted at that conference, that the LOGOS anima-
 ted his body instead of an human soul. These I thought
 were what all the world call'd the distinguishing tenets of
 Arius, and therefore made no scruple to call them so.
 Several persons unknown to me were present at this con-
 ference besides Mr. Galpin now minister at Morsfield
 near Bath, from whom I lately receiv'd a letter on this
 head, part of which for the farther satisfaction of the
 world,

world with reference to the truth of this certificate, and the *insincerity* of Mr. Stogdon's account, is under transcribed by me,

Thomas Edgley.

Reverend Sir,

Morsfield Decemb. 16, 1719.

" IN compliance with your request, I have sent you as
 " particular an account, as my memory will serve
 " to give, of what pass'd at that conference. I remem-
 " ber perfectly well, thar you told Mr. Stogdon, that
 " you understood he was fallen into the *Arian scheme*,
 " and that you was very sorry to hear of it. He reply'd,
 " *I am an Arian, and glory in the name.* Mr. Stogdon
 " did make no scruple to acknowledge, that he did be-
 " lieve our blessed Saviour to be but a creature, tho' ad-
 " vanc'd above angels. And I think also, that he said,
 " that he was of opinion, that it was the Logos that
 " animated the Body of CHRIST instead of a human soul.
 " He spake his mind with a great deal of freedom, and
 " did not seem to be in the least upon his guard. I
 " can't see with what justice Mr. Stogdon can charge you
 " with betraying private conversation, when there were
 " many others in company; and he himself did not
 " seem to be at all upon the reserve, but readily acknowl-
 " ledg'd himself to be an *Arian*; and added, he glo-
 " ried in the character. I leave it to you, to make use
 " of this account as you shall think fit. I have only to
 " add, that I am

your very much oblig'd, and most

obedient, humble servant

Calvin Galpin.

IT is here to be observ'd, That tho' Mr. Stogdon mentions his study as the place of pag. 42; their conference, yet it was in the hearing of many others; and his notions concerning CHRIST by whatever name they are call'd, are doubtless of a dangerous nature. He that could believe, that CHRIST in his highest capacity is but a creature, and yet is in the dark, whether he was *consubstan-*

tial or not, eternal or not, had too mean thoughts of CHRIST, and too dark and confus'd a head of his own, to be entrusted with the preaching of the everlasting Gospel of CHRIST. His ordainers had done a considerable service to the church if they had delay'd the setting him apart till he had clearer notions, and a more settled mind. And if Mr. P. had retain'd a due regard to the honour of his blessed REDEEMER, he would not have been concern'd in recommending him to ordination. That he was not one of his *ordainers*, did not proceed from a dislike of his notions, but to prevent an alarm and contention in that country, which he prudently enough foresaw would be prejudicial to the *new scheme*, which 'tis plain he had at heart ; and therefore no wonder he did all he could to prevent an open rupture, whilst there were too many that secretly endeavour'd to poyson the people. And tho' he might not himself be active in it, yet it was encouragement sufficient not to appear against them. His apology for [Mr. Stogdon, That there can be no harm in desiring a truth may be extensive,] has more of art than strength in it ; for if we take destructive error for truth, and desire and endeavour to spread it as far as we can, we are highly criminal, and they that do not what in them lies to prevent it will be sharers in the guilt.

AND now let every one judge, that hath any love to his REDEEMER, whether the ministers that knew of these things, were not bound to make opposition to such as grew so bold and daring in their impious errors. And how could Mr. P. say of Mr. Stogdon, that tho' he had alter'd his notion, yet he endeavour'd to conceal it from the world, p. 13. when he acknowledg'd himself to be an *Arian*, and glory'd in the character.

THE same author endeavours to take pag. 44. some advantage of Mr. Walrond, with respect to a funeral sermon preach'd by him on the death of Mr. Stoddon of Sidbury. To which Mr. W. rond gives this reply.

As to the opinion of the reverend Mr. Stoddon mention'd by Mr. Peirce, West. Inq. pag. 44. (into whose ashes that author has thought fit to rake) I acknowledge he had some different notions from the common expli- cation

cation of the TRINITY, which related especially to the word *Person*, which word he dislik'd, as also the phrases of the *eternal generation* of the SON, and *profession* of the HOLY GHOST, as unscriptural; explaining the doctrine in a way peculiar to himself, but still agreeing with the *Nicene fathers*, and the first article of the church of England in the *main point* of the *true and proper Divinity of the WORD*, and *HOLY SPIRIT*; and therefore is very severe upon what he styles in the same papers, the *blasphemy* of the Socinians, and the *cursed Arian heresy*, and withal disclaims the heresy of *Sabellius* also. He acknowledges the genuineness of *1 John v. 7.* and declares, [That these Three are One and the same GOD; that the SON of GOD, is very GOD, and very MAN, and the only begotten SON of GOD, and that he is *equal* and *coessential* with the FATHER, which he pronounces to be the chief articles of the christian faith, expressly renouncing all those hereticks, that ever deny'd or question'd it.] And his explication of the 6th answer in the *Assembly's Catechism* (which explication of his own composing, he constantly used in publick to his last sickness) shew'd his opinion very distinctly, [That the FATHER is GOD, the SON is GOD, and the HOLY GHOST is GOD, and that these Three Persons, (which term he there uses) are in the Unity of the same GODHEAD.] These are his own words. And as to his character in his funeral sermon, I cannot but think I was modest in it (or rather forbore to give him a character at all) since I said not a word more than this (tho' I might have enlarg'd very justly) Should I mention his learning and judgment, his exact and excellent preaching, or those abilities wherewith GOD had furnish'd him, both for calling sinners to repentance, and reducing many others to their reason *, I should speak to those that are better judges, and have been longer acquainted with it than I have been. All that farther concern'd it, was only the recital of his own dying sayings. And that which Mr. P. was told of in a broken manner, was exactly this: " That he had such a fervent affection to that Holy One, CHRIST JESUS; as that he thought, he could never serve him enough, nor suffer too much for so good

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* He cur'd many distracted people.

a Master, that he could willingly go through all the troubles and miseries of the flesh ; nay, he said, if it were not too high an expression for him, *he could be content to go through Hell itself to come to CHRIST.*" So that these were indeed Mr. Stoddon's words, and not mine ; and this was the person that Mr. P. was so civil as to style the *dead heretick*. But ill language both towards the living and the dead, we must not scruple to receive, but accept it as the reproach of CHRIST.

John Walrond.

AFTER this account given by Mr. Walrond of Mr. Stoddon's sentiments, we see how little regard is due to what is said of him by Mr. P. who represents him as having quitted the commonly receiv'd doctrine of the TRINITY, and drawn up as different a scheme as that which is now so much decry'd. This is a mistake, for Mr. Stoddon believ'd the true and proper Divinity of the WORD, and HOLY SPIRIT, and that, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, are One GOD, and the same GOD ; and that the Son of GOD is equal or coessential with the FATHER ; and that these are the chief articles of the christian faith, and look'd upon Arianism as a *cursed heresy* : therefore he could not be in a scheme as different from the commonly receiv'd doctrine, as those who believe none of these things.

As to what Mr. Peirce says about Mr. Walrond's agreeing to a testimonial for Mr. Stogdon. pag. 43, 44, 45. The case in short was this : A London minister

(then in the country) came to me from some of the Exeter ministers (as I understood) with this proposal, That if Mr. Stogdon would engage, neither in word nor writing, to meddle with this doctrine in dispute, and was remov'd into some distant part of Somerset, I would then be content, and make no further opposition to him ? To which I reply'd, That he would then be out of our care, and under another assembly, and I should concern myself no further about him. After this, as well as I can remember, I was ask'd by Mr. P. in the street in Exeter, (meeting him accidentally) Whether I would subscribe a testimonial for Mr. Stogdon, upon his removal ? To which I readily answer'd, I could, as to his conversation, but meant no farther ;

little

little imagining it was to have been made use of, to procure his ordination in such an irregular manner; and not doubting that when Mr. Stogdon was in *Somersetshire*, he would be regularly and strictly examin'd in point of doctrine, by their *assembly* before his ordination, as usual; acquiescing in the care and conscience of those reverend ministers, either to approve, or to reject him. Instead of which, he was ordain'd by the charitable help of ministers call'd in as far as from *Newbury* and *Andover*, without the order of any *assembly at all*. I never saw the testimonial till it was printed in this late book, nor was ever afterwards desir'd to subscribe it: and indeed was very glad I had no concern with that person, when not long after I saw a *Confession of Faith*, which had been handed about in *Exeter* and in the *Country* as a great performance, said to be drawn up by Mr. Stogdon, and is as follows:

"I declare, I am no *Arian*, either in the strict genuine sense of the word, or even in the common vulgar notion of it, but abhor both name and thing; for I firmly believe **JESUS CHRIST** is as truly **GOD**, as **GOD** the **FATHER**; that he is not only **GOD** by *title* and by *office*, but by *nature* too, being so partaker of the Divine Nature with the **FATHER**, that, as the Scripture saith, *In him the fulness of the Godhead dwells*; and this I believe was communicated from the **FATHER** in a Manner, which I cannot comprehend. I believe therefore there is some kind of *subordination* of the **SON** to the **FATHER**, but exactly to fix the limits of it, I know not, and am content to be ignorant until I shall see *Him as He is*. In the mean time, I know it is my duty to honour the **Son** as I honour the **Father**; for he had divine perfections before he was exalted to the **Godhead** over all, being in the beginning not only with **GOD**, but himself even then a **GOD**; and since made more fully partaker of the same Divine nature, to fit him for the mediatorial Kingdom: so that he was **GOD** as to his *nature*, to qualify him for such a great **GOD** as he is by *office*."

It is thought fit that this declaration should be publish'd, that the world may know what sort of divinity had start-ed up in the *West of England*, and what kind of *creeds* and *confessions*, were likely to be offer'd in those parts, and

and that christians may be sensible how much our blessed SAVIOUR might be diminish'd and dishonour'd under that single word *Subordination*, and how *fairly* men may speak of C H R I S T, as in the former part of this *confession*, and yet how *oddly* they may think of him at the same time, as appears from the latter part. And this practice of equivocation *, has been the cause of most of the trouble and difficulty that the ministers have labour'd under.

MR. Stogdon afterwards upon inquiry, own'd himself to be the author of this famous declaration to a minister in London, tho' indeed he added withal, that *he had since seen cause to alter his sentiments*. If he is sure he hath done so, it would be but reasonable, he should take as effectual methods to recover people from his error, as he had already taken to lead them into it; and therefore its hoped, he will give us a new confession of his faith.

John Walrond.

Mr. Peirce endeavours to excuse himself
pag. 45. and the brethren that with him sign'd the *testimonial*. But if a due regard had been had to the honour of the blessed R E D E E M E R, it would have caus'd a demurr at least. And that Mr. P. was not one of his ordainers, did not proceed from a dislike of his notions, but to avoid some inconveniences that might happen to himself as well as others at Exeter.

Mr. Peirce, who never fails to bestow all
pag. 46. the marks possible of his good-will upon the *Narrative*, thinks it *not amiss here to take notice of one thing*, and a mighty thing it is, viz. *That he [Mr. Stogdon] was ordain'd in Somerset near Bath*; (*oddly enough express'd*, says he, and more oddly remark'd, may it be said, considering the usual abbreviations of speech in common letters). That it was done *upon a testimonial from three ministers in Exon*, who fear'd he could not have his ordination by consent of the assembly there.

* Of which see Dr. Waterland of the disguises of the ancient *Arians*, p. 206. And Mr. Lob's excellent book of the *Growth of Error*. And Bishop Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicae cap. iv. p. 146—180.*

there. His design by this is to convince the Narrative of falsehood, and therefore he supposes it cannot be faithfully taken from the originals, but is an alteration made since. But this is another gross abuse upon the Narrative; for the words are exactly as they stand in the originals without any the least alteration ever made in them.

AND whereas Mr. Peirce does intend a reflection hereby upon Mr. Walrond, as if he had procur'd this alteration. He makes the following reply.

I know of no such alteration at all from what was written in any letter of mine, nor desir'd any; but alowing it to be thus express'd, that Mr. Stogdon was refus'd ordination in Devonshire, I think it amounted to no less than a tacit refusal, when all the ministers, with whom I discours'd upon the subject of that young man's ordination (which were not a few, nor inconsiderable) unanimously protested against it, and declar'd, they would oppose it whenever he should move it, except it appear'd he was reform'd in those erroneous opinions. Upon the expectation of which negative from our assembly, it is not doubted he desisted, and afterwards upon the same view withdrew into Somersetshire. He says true, That I did not answer his letter; resolving to enter into no correspondence with him.

John Walrond.

MR. PEIRCE allows, the heats reviv'd, as the Account says, after Mr. Stogdon's removal; but says, The ministers were not chargeable with having any hand in reviving them: that they were cautious not only in their sermons, but in their conversation, and took occasion to press the people to a mutual forbearance. MR. P. could not be ignorant that these heats were occasion'd by the opposition that was made to the Deity of our SAVIOUR and the HOLY GHOST, so that his pressing persons to a mutual forbearance, was in effect to give countenance to those errors that were spreading among his people. If he would have done any thing to purpose to extinguish those heats, he should have defended what his people took to be truth; but indeed in the method he took, he acted consistently with himself, though he could not have taken a more effectual course to increase

their jealousies, and to raise their heats to a greater height, by thus discouraging all others from making opposition to these growing errors.

pag. 47, M R. Lavington falling again under his cen-
48. sure, gives this vindication of himself,

W H E R E A S Mr. Peirce satyrically inveighs against me for a remark I had made on a passage in his sermon the 25th of December 1717. I shall here take occasion to give the world another instance of his great insincerity, and the pitiful shifts, evasions, and misrepresentations, he hath recourse to.

1. I have to observe, That I never made use of any such expression to Mr. P. which yet he says, I did, viz. *That as the heart thinketh, the mouth speaks.*

2. T H A T Mr. Peirce was not in that part of his sermon setting forth the love of the F A T H E R in sending the S O N, but the love of C H R I S T; in that He, who was so nearly ally'd or related to the Blessed G O D, should put himself in our nature.

T H E text he preach'd upon, was *Luke ii.* and the middle clause of the 34th verse, *This Child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel.*

H E was shewing, " That there were many things in C H R I S T that were apt to give offence, and be matter of stumbling to those that were not dispos'd to fall in with divine methods: As 1. the meanness of his appearance, and the figure he made, and character he bore here in this world. This was occasion of offence and stumbling to many while C H R I S T was here in the world, and to many afterwards, when they came to hear of him in the preaching of the Gospel: Here he gave a particular account of several things in C H R I S T which would be apt to be a stumbling-block, and then adds, And this was foretold concerning our R E D E E M E R, that men should on this account despise, and be ready to reject him, *Isa. liii. 2, 3, 4.* But now every christian doth the more prize and value the R E D E E M E R on this account, that when he was Lord of all, *when he was so nearly related to the Ever-blessed G O D*, he would put himself in our nature; because we were partakers of flesh and blood, that he would himself take part of the same, in order to his bringing about our advantage and benefit."

So that here was nothing said of the FATHER, nor of his Love. With what justness then can Mr. P. say, *The next time it would serve his purpose full as well to say, God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, &c.*

I took notice of Mr. Peirce's expression while he was preaching, but I was resolv'd not to make mention of it to any unless I should hear of it from others, nor did I; but being ask'd by a friend, Whether I did not observe such an expression in the sermon? I told him, Yes; and to me it was unaccountable, that Mr. P. who insists so much upon keeping to scripture words, should yet make use of *so low an expression* as that of being *so nearly related to the ever-blessed GOD*, when he might have made use of scripture words, that would have been much more forcible; viz. That *he who was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, should yet humble himself, &c.* And I believe, whoever considers the scope of Mr. P's discourse, will not think my remark so exceeding ridiculous, as he would represent it.

John Lavington.

THE next thing Mr. Peirce endeavours to cast a slur upon, is the account the gentle- pag. 48,
men of Exeter give of the boastings of those 49.
persons that were fallen into the new opinion,
with respect to their numbers and strength among the mi-
nisters; even defying the assembly to take cognizance of
it. As to this, he questions very much the truth of what
is said. But this is confirm'd by the following certifi-
cate, as to their boasts concerning their strength among
the ministers.

I Do hereby certify, That a leading man of Mr. Peirce's meeting (whose name I forbear to mention, because I have receiv'd very great kindnesses from him) did some time before the assembly, September 1718, boast of the numbers and strength they had among the ministers for the new notions, and upbraided us as if we were afraid to bring the matter into the assembly, for fear we should not be able to carry the vote. And the occasion of

the discourse was, my reporting, that when I was last at Bath, I had heard in my journey, that Mr. Stogdon reported, that he was going down to vindicate himself before the assembly. He (my friend) then ask'd me, *Why we had not call'd him to an account?* and upon that occasion upbraided us as above: Nor is it less true, that there were boastings concerning their numbers among the people. One of Mr. Peirce's communicants, viz. Richard Berry, declaring several times in the hearing of Mrs. Mary Treat, that there were more in the new notions than she knew or did suppose; and another very considerable friend and communicant of Mr. Peirce's, has several times boasted of the spread and growth of these notions.

Josiah Eveleigh.

THERE is little in what he offers here from the characters of the ministers, for tho' they were *neither desppicable nor scandalous*, yet when the people had ground to fear that the unsoundness of some of their ministers was one cause of the spreading of those errors, their own prudence would put them upon consulting among themselves what method was most proper for obtaining satisfaction concerning the faith of their ministers, and for their own farther establishment in the truth.

As to what Mr. Peirce suggests of the com-
pag. 49, mittee, 'tis enough to observe, That Mr. P.
50. says, [The gentlemen who made up this num-
ber at my coming, and ever since, were per-
sons of figure and reputation, whom I much esteem'd,
nor did I see that they did not manage affairs for the
good of the whole.]

THE world will certainly believe this character of these worthy persons to be very well deserv'd when it comes from Mr. P's pen. He says, [Had that committee been dissolv'd, I am apt to think our fatal breach had been prevented:] But 'tis hoped he will give others leave to think, that had it been dissolv'd, we had run into much greater confusion. GOD hath made this *constitution* a means of preserving the peace and unity of the City hitherto, and tho' Mr. P. thinks them so obnoxious, the excellent Mr. Tress, who was Mr. P's predecessor was of another mind, for when these gentlemen some years

years since offer'd to give up their trust, the ministers unanimously oppos'd it, and Mr. Trost in particular declar'd, he thought it would be of pernicious consequence.

At the opening the liberty the people concurr'd in choosing that *committee*, who fill'd up any vacancy as necessity requir'd, which has been follow'd with such success, that Mr. P. himself is forc'd to confess, that *he did not see but that they manag'd affairs to the good of the whole.*

[He speaks of their assuming another kind *pag. 49.* of power than they were entrusted with,] and *pag. 145.* he says, [they (speaking of the *ministers*) did not understand these gentlemen had any more authority to proceed, as they did, than any of the rest of the people.]

THESE gentlemen assum'd no such power as Mr. P. unjustly charges them with assuming. This they disclaim'd upon all occasions, and particularly to the *seven ministers* they call'd in to advise with upon this occasion, and also to the people whom they summon'd together in a body, to acquaint them with the measures they had taken to preserve their own faith and manner of worship, when one of the *committee*, at the opening that meeting, address'd himself to the people in these words, (or words to this purpose) *We have acted herein only as private persons, and not as having any authority or power over you*; their business being only to collect and pay to each minister his fallary.

WHENEVER any thing extraordinary occur'd relating to the affairs of the church, they us'd to call in to their assistance some others of the people to advise with; as they did in the beginning of these their unhappy differences: and 'twas from such a body as this, that the four persons were first sent, to desire the ministers to preach up the *Divinity of CHRIST.*

MR. Peirce says, That *the Account doth not truly relate the desire of the gentlemen*, which *pag. 50.* he says was express'd in these words, *That the ministers should assert the Eternity of the SON of GOD.*

THE ministers were well appriz'd, that it was the desire of the people, That the proper Godhead of CHRIST should be defended in their sermons, in order to prevent the farther growth of *Arianism*; and how far Mr. P. comply'd with the purport of their request, we refer the reader to the sermon itself, beginning pag. 54. and desire him to take notice of the marginal note, pag. 56. as an explication of Mr. P's opinion of Eternity. And it is to be observ'd, that the way of delivery was not a little shocking to the congregation, it being accompany'd with so vehement a flame; and therefore it is no wonder, if there was such a visible concern in the congregation, as he mentions pag. 63.

BUT farther, as to what Mr. P. says of the gentlemens desire: Some of these gentlemen who went with this desire have since been consulted about this matter, and are very positive, that they desir'd Mr. P. &c. to preach in defence of the Eternal *Deity* of our Blessed SAVIOUR, as the *Account* says, and if Mr. P. out of regard to his own notions would not understand the gentlemen, yet evident it is, that the matter is justly represented from what past in the preaching of some in pursuance of this desire; nor doth Mr. P. seem to have any other design in what he preach'd, than to amuse and impose upon the people.

MR. Peirce resents the gentlemens desiring pag. 51. him to preach upon a particular subject, and thought himself as capable of choosing proper subjects as they were of choosing for him. But is it not his duty in the choice he makes to consult their edification, and may they not at some special seasons be more capable and competent judges than himself, concerning what they need to have their faith establish'd in? Is it not the duty of ministers to oppose the errors of the day and place in which they live, and to preach up the contrary truths? And in case they prove defective and negligent, will this great patron of the peoples liberty, magnify himself or his office to such a degree, as that the people must not be allow'd tho' in the most respectful manner, to remind them of their duty, and put them upon the discharge of it? 'Tis most probable

the

the subject they desir'd him to preach upon, was the principal thing that gave offence, and now it appears evident, that if they expected he should establish their faith in the proper Godhead of CHRIST, they were very much mistaken.

THE author of the *Account* had the greatest reason to say that the sermon was not satisfactory : But that the uneasiness and suspic- pag. 523
tions of the people increas'd thereupon. This, 53.
is so evident by its consequences, that every body will believe, that the author of the *Account* more justly gives the sense of the people than Mr. P. doth.

MR. Peirce has so good an opinion of himself and his performances, that he is resolv'd pag. 53.
to verify the *Motto*, *Nemo me impune lacessit*, none must expect to escape his resentment, that shall offer to say any thing that would seem to lessen them in the least. He says, It is mean and disingenuous in the *Narrative* to say, that he was slight and ambiguous in his discourses, But was he not slight, when tho' in his great condescension he so far yielded at last to the desire of the people as to preach upon the subject, yet did it in such manner as gave no satisfaction to those who needed it most, and wanted to know for a certainty what his opinion was about the Deity of CHRIST. He makes Mr. Lavington, pay for this charge with interest. If we were slight in our discourses, what was Mr. Lavington. To this we say, that it is no unusual thing for Mr. P. and those of his kidney to think every thing slight and mean that is contrary to their sentiments. Since Mr. Lavington has the unhappiness to differ from him, he takes all occasions to speak contemptibly of his performances. But tho' there be few, if any, that equal Mr. P. (as himself conceits) yet many, and those capable judges of mens abilities, bless GOD for Mr. Lavington's valuable and useful Gifts. If Mr. P. had been but as clear and full in the doctrine as Mr. Lavington was, tho' he had preach'd as slightly as 'tis pretended this brother did, there would have been no cause of complaint.

He says, The only thing wanting in his dis- pag. 54.
course was not argument ; yet he must be con-

scious

scious there was want of argument to prove that, which his auditory would gladly have seen prov'd. For none will believe that he who makes such mighty pretences to sincerity, did use arguments to prove that, which now it appears plainly he did not believe. If he had clearly, strenuously, and without ambiguity asserted and prov'd the common opinion, it would have given satisfaction, tho' he had not confidently threaten'd those with damnation that receded from it.

How can Mr. Peirce say, That *none will*
 pag. 53. charge him with using ambiguous phrases when
 in the long account he gives of the word *Eternity*, his plain design is to amuse the people, as if he had believ'd the proper Eternity of JESUS CHRIST, tho' he meant no such thing; but takes eternity when apply'd to the SON in a sense different from what he does when apply'd to the FATHER? Whereas had he believ'd the SON was absolutely eternal, and had himself declar'd so, it would have been much more satisfactory than that long discourse: or, if he had declar'd the contrary he had done honestly. But before his dismission he had attain'd an admirable art of concealing his real sense under a multitude of plausible words, without giving any satisfaction touching the matter in debate. Why do we call that eternal which existed before the world's beginning, but for this reason, because we know nothing did exist except God himself, FATHER SON, and HOLY GHOST? Nothing is properly eternal *a parte ante*, but that which never had nor could have a beginning. It's possible in the nature of things for multitudes of beings to have existed long before the beginning of this world, but would they have been eternal for this reason? According to this notion of *Eternity*, if God should cause a new world of creatures to come into being after us, we might be styl'd eternal with respect to them.

As to what he says of Mr. Ball, That when
 pag. 53. he told him, the argument he used in the sermon. He answer'd, He could not see what the people could desire more. Mr. Ball replies as follows.

Mr.

MR. Peirce says, *he satisfy'd me*: and no wonder, for I durst not then have suspected what I since find to be true by their printed *Pamphlets*; that they used words and phrases in quite different senses than they were commonly taken in, and deceiv'd men with equivocations: When the *Innocent vindicated* said, CHRIST was truly GOD, I thought they had meant, He was the *true God*; but now Mr. P. has told us, he is not so; tho' it is no great argument to prove that he was not *true God*, because he was Man as well as God, when the same writer tells you in the beginning of the *Gospel* he was both, and brings Thomas calling him, *his Lord and his God*: and is not this the Glory given to the only *true God* in the *Old Testament*? I could not then have suspected that under the title of *plain Christianity*, they were bringing downright *Heathenism* into the church (as Dr. Stillingfleet truly calls it) *viz.* the worship of One God, and a creature besides him: These men accuse others of having little regard to Scripture, and say, they are for the plain letter without any human additions or explications; and yet after all this, can break through our LORD's express command in a matter of greatest consequence: *Thou shalt worship the L O R D thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* God hath declar'd himself jealous of his worship, *Exod 24.* *Thou shalt worship no other God:* for the L O R D, whose name is jealous, is a jealous God; yet they can break through all this, with a distinction which I think is not scripture, of supreme and subordinate worship, a distinction which will serve to excuse a Papist in worshipping a saint or angel, and will excuse most of the idolaters in the world. I am sure they that worshipp'd one supreme God, and Baal beside, (as the Jews did in Jeremiah's time) might have pleaded it before the magistrate, who was requir'd to put to death the man that sacrific'd to any but the *true God*. They might have pleaded this distinction, that it was but subordinate worship which they perform'd to Baal, whereas the law spake of *supreme worship*. And I can't see, but according to this doctrine, a man must have been acquitted. I shall have better thoughts of these things, when they can shew us a repeal of the *first commandment*; that God hath any where in the *New Testament* told us, that we are now

to worship one supreme GOD, and a creature under him; which was idolatry under the law. Is this way of speaking and writing, the simplicity and godly sincerity which the scripture commends? To tell men that they believe CHRIST was truly GOD, or with Mr. Emlyn, that we were all agreed about the true and proper Divinity of CHRIST, when yet he is properly a creature with some of them, and not the true GOD with others; but their notions must be disquis'd under good words at first, until they have got into the good opinion of plain Christians, who if they had known their meaning at the beginning, would have started from them.

As to Mr. Lavington's not preaching on the subject at this time, which Mr. P. mentions p. 53, 54. He had preach'd on it before, and the people were fully satisfy'd of his soundness in the faith.

To dismiss this matter, he that shall read pag. 63. the close of Mr. Peirce's sermon from p. 59, will see reason to observe that he can be as warm and zealous as any of his neighbours. Whilst he is offended with others for showing a just concern and warmth for that doctrine, in which they apprehend the honour of the Ever-blessed REDEEMER and their eternal happiness is nearly concern'd; he discovers much more warmth in defending his own honour and reputation, and instead of giving people satisfaction, he severely chides those who had desir'd it. The plain design of that harangue is to lull them asleep, that he and his party might the more securely sow their tares among them, or if at any time they might perceive it, they should not dare however to complain for fear of being charg'd as men of strife and contention, and of an unpeaceable and uncharitable spirit. 'Tis not to be wonder'd at, that a discourse of this tendency, and the heat where-with it was deliver'd, should cause a considerable concern in the congregation.

As to the letter he receiv'd from his friend pag. 63. in London, he does not mention the person from whom he receiv'd it, or from whom that person had his information; scil. that Mr. Lavington and

and Mr. Larkham had so preach'd up the common doctrine, as to be despis'd for it. It's probable the persons at Exeter that gave the information were gone into the new scheme, and then they would easily despise what they did not like; and his friend in London knowing his abilities, and thinking him still in the old scheme, might desire that he would set himself to maintain it. But from whomsoever this information as to Mr. Larkham and Mr. Lavington came, Mr. Lavington challenges Mr. Peirce or any of his friends to mention those arguments that were so despis'd, and is ready to vindicate them. Mr. P. to use his own words, if he had the spirit of a man or a christian, he would have scorn'd such a mean, pitiful and disingenuous way of writing.

IN these pages Mr. Peirce is pleas'd to represent all things to be easy and quiet in the City at the time of the assembly in May 1718. and that there was no disturbance till just before the September assembly: The contrary is evident, the Citizens were uneasy, and the Account the Citizens gave of the heats that were at that time in the City, is farther confirm'd by what follows. It was this very month that the reverend Mr. Pitts of Chard went to Mr. Hallet and gave him to know, the people were too much alarm'd to be silent much longer.

DISCOURSING in May 1718, with the reverend Mr. Jos. Hallet, sen. in his own house, about the new notions relating to the proper Divinity of CHRIST, which were at that time entertain'd by many in the City of Exon, and expressing my fears of my son then under Mr. Hallet's tuition, and acquainting him that many of the principal persons which attended the ministry of the four ministers were too much alarm'd to be silent much longer, he told me (altering his voice) being as I apprehended unwilling to be heard in the lower room: That it was all owing to Mr. Peirce, adding, that the citizens might thank themselves for all: Which last words consider'd with the alteration of his voice in the former, seem to make it appear, that he

spake his own words and sense, and not the words and sense of others.

Aaron Pitts.

WHEREAS Mr. Peirce represents the City
pag. 65, to be all in peace at May assembly, and long af-
68. ter. We are sure the assertion is not true:

The complaints of the citizens upon this head were many, and we were loudly charg'd by them in particular, with neglect of duty in not declaring against those growing errors at the time of that very assembly.

John Ball,
John Walrond.

WHEREAS Mr. Peirce says, That Mr. La-
pag. 67, vington upon satisfaction, that there was such
68. quiet in the City, resolv'd to meddle no more;

Mr. Lavington on the strictest recollection declares, that he remembers nothing of this passage; and there is the greater reason to believe he is in the right, because he knew the facts mention'd in the foregoing accounts.

Mr. Peirce says, After his return from Lon-
pag. 68. don, Mr. Lavington was quite chang'd, Mr. Ball
and Mr. Walrond become exceeding warm, and defies them to tell what new thing had happen'd to pro-voke them to appear in publick. To which they give this answer: That they were so much blam'd by the people of Exeter, and many others in the Country for not declaring in the former assembly, and saw what encouragement the silence of the assembly had given to the Arian faction, that they durst not in conscience be silent any longer.

IN the same page and that which follows;
pag. 69. Mr. Peirce makes mention of a letter he receiv'd from London, acquainting him with one which Mr. Walrond had sent to a minister there, making the most dismal complaint of their case, and desiring advice; that very tragical out-cries were contain'd in it, concerning blasphemous expressions with relation to the

the TRINITY, and that these were charg'd only upon young ministers. But as it is in p. 90. that Mr. P. makes the greatest stir about this, and takes occasion from it to be very abusive upon the Narrative; the reader's patience is desir'd till that page comes to be consider'd, when this matter shall be particularly spoken to. Therefore we proceed to another complaint, pag. 69. of circular letters being sent round the country to form a party in the assembly. This is presum'd to be levell'd at Mr. Ball, who gives the following answer to it.

I wrote only to two or three ministers desiring their presence at the assembly; which letters he is pleas'd to call *circular*. I thought it time to joyn heart and hand against the bringing of creature-worship into the church, or of any thing besides that of the LORD our GOD. Now Mr. P. says, that CHRIST is not the only true GOD, and his reason is, because he is distinguish'd from him; and if he be not the true GOD, I cannot see but the worshipping him must be flat idolatry, tho' he be not a mere creature, but something between the supreme GOD and a creature, as Mr. P. would have it; and shall never believe that GOD hath commanded me to worship him, until some of these bright people (as their admirers call them) can shew me in the Scripture; that whereas GOD gave Israel ten commandments, christians are bound only to nine, and may safely strike the first out of their Bible: or else that they can shew me a place where the Lord CHRIST hath retracted his saying, That GOD was to be worshipped, and GOD, only; and hath told us in some other place, that he in particular must be excepted, and must be pray'd to, and trusted in, and we are to be dedicated to him, tho' he be not true GOD, but a mere creature, as some will have it, or something between GOD and a creature, which Mr. P. knows not but he may be.

John Ball.

AGAIN, Mr. Peirce relates, That Mr. Lavington told Mr. Withers, that in the assembly they pag. 69. would assert, that the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, were the One GOD; and when Mr. Withers ask'd

ask'd him, Whether they would assert they were Three Persons? He answered, They would have nothing to do about Persons.

To which Mr. *Lavington* replies, They declin'd the word *Person*, because they would avoid all disputes about words among such as did agree in the substance of the doctrine.

W H A T he says of Mr. *Ball* and Mr. *Wal-*
pag. 60, *rond*, is groundless and uncharitable. The
79. justifying themselves to the world, That they
 were no *Arians*, was more than a pretence, they had a loud call to it, and since they could do it with a good conscience, it was their duty. They had been wanting to the Truth, their own reputation and usefulness, had they omitted it. As for Mr. *P.* and those of his opinion, they could not thus justify themselves without some *subtle fetch*, as he without ground charges others with. No wonder therefore that he opposed such a method of purgation. Why this should be call'd a handle for setting up an *Inquisition* is not to be conceiv'd, supposing he means more by it than an inquiry what a man believes; if not, 'tis to be suppos'd he lets up such an *Inquisition* himself every time he administers baptism, or admits any to the Lord's-table: for 'tis to be hop'd, he will not admit men to either of these ordinances without inquiring into their faith. With respect to what he says of Mr. *Walrond*'s professing, *He had a tender regard to his reputation, and that the usefulness of his writings might not be hinder'd.* 'Tis answer'd, he did not only profess it, but really had so. But when he himself by the erroneous notions he had entertain'd, had greatly lessen'd his own reputation and usefulness, and was like to become an instrument of more hurt than ever he had done good to the church of CHRIST; it is not to be conceiv'd how Mr. *Walrond* could have been faithful to CHRIST and the Truth, if he had declin'd his own duty for fear of lessening Mr. *P.*'s reputation.

H E R E he mentions *the forming of a ca-*
pag. 70. *bal, &c.* To which exception Mr. *Ball* thus
 replies.

Mr. Peirce charges Mr. Walrond and me with caballing against him, whereas we desir'd and had a meeting with Mr. Withers and him before the assembly. And then I ask'd him how our proceedings could be call'd 'caballing, when I had told Mr. Withers more than once what I design'd, and desir'd him, as soon as Mr. P. came from London to acquaint him with it, that we might meet and discourse the matter before the meeting of the assembly, which was accordingly done. And if we, who were of the true and commonly receiv'd doctrine, had met by ourselves, to consider of the best measures we were to take for its security, tho' Mr. P. may use his hard words, if he pleases, and call it what he will; yet I can see nothing in it to be ashamed of.

John Ball.

"MR. PEIRCE says, That Mr. Ball (at the meeting at Ottery) to show the necessity of their proceedings in the manner they propos'd, and to justify them in sending circu'ar letters, insisted, That there was a club of young men that met together stately, where these notions were propagated. Mr. P. calls this several times a false story, and says, p. 72. the truth is, the story had not the least foundation, that ever he could hear of. He owns, there was a club of young men met together, but one article they had agreed upon was, That nothing should be brought into discourse by any of them on this subject. Mr. Lavington's suspicious temper had caus'd him to give out reports to the contrary; but this, says he, is the truth" Surely there never was a history that had more of calumny and less of truth in it than the *West. Inq.* has; and this is not one of the least misrepresentations. That there was a club of young men met stately where the Deity of CHRIST was deny'd and disputed against, and that there was no such article to prevent these disputes till the club was in a manner broke by the disputes, and several had withdrawn upon that account, the following certificates do fully confirm,

THESE

THIS is to certify, That in the club of young men mention'd by Mr. Peirce in his Western Inquisition, pag. 71, 72. the Deity of C H R I S T was frequently denied and argu'd against ; and it was also insisted on, that the usual Doxologies in the end of our prayers should be alter'd. The debates on this run so high, that several of us declar'd we would withdraw, and it was not till then, that any such article as Mr. Peirce speaks of, was proposed to prevent disputes on this subject. And we never heard it was Mr. Peirce's desire that this club should be broke, till publish'd in his Inquisition.

Witneß our hands

Joseph Force,
John Churchill,
William Colton.

I Joseph Force do farther certify, That after we had withdrawn upon the disputes mention'd in the above certificate, I met with one of the society who thought fit to continue, and who then desir'd me to come again, alledging, that they had enter'd into an agreement to avoid all disputes upon those difficult points in religion ; upon which I went again once or twice, and then wholly withdrew.

Joseph Force.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That in the club of young men mention'd in Mr. Peirce's Inquisition, p. 71, 72. the Deity of C H R I S T was frequently deny'd and argu'd against, and it was insisted on by many, that the doxologies in the end of our prayers should be alter'd ; upon which several withdrew, particularly those who sign'd the above certificate, and it was not till then, that there was any such article made to prevent disputes of this nature, which Mr. Peirce makes mention of.

Thomas Dryer.

N.B. Tho. Dryer, who makes this certificate met with the remainder of the club, after the persons above had withdrawn, when the article Mr. P. speaks of was added.

As to the blasphemous expressions said to be mention'd by Mr. Withers, as let fall by people on the other side, and again taken notice of pag. 77. And again in Mr. Withers's reasons: The persons who subscrib'd the underneath certificate, being the only persons that we hear of, that were nam'd as chargeable with these blasphemies, do offer as follows in Lehalf of themselves:

WHEREAS it is given out, That there are many in this City, who embrace the notion of Sabellius, or that say, the FATHER is the SON, or the SON the FATHER, or that GOD the FATHER took flesh, &c. We whose names are under-written, with others, do hereby declare, That we abominate these opinions, nor do we know of any that hold them, and if it be laid to the charge of any of us; we declare this can be no otherways than by mens unjust fastning of consequences upon us, which we utterly deny and detest. We acknowledge, according to the received faith of the christian churches, that there is but One GOD, and in that GOD or GODHEAD there are Three Distinctions or Persons, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, and that these are more than distinct modes or names.

Dudley Cary,
George Jewell,

MR. Ball is charg'd with the breach of an agreement, which he knows nothing of. The pag. 72. truth of this matter will appear by the following account.

As to what Mr. Peirce says p. 72. That he was content with the offer that was made him, that care should be taken for the future in the examination of candidates for the ministry. This is the truth of that matter, viz. That Mr. Peirce was violent against bringing any thing about these opinions into the assembly at all, and told us, that it was in the power of the assembly to appoint whom they pleas'd, to examine candidates, and by this means prevent the growth of these errors. I answer'd, That they were spread among many already, and the spreaders of them gave out, that

many ministers were in them ; and upon this consideration there was need of a publick declaration in the assembly, that our people might not be impos'd upon. And therefore, whereas Mr. Peirce insinuates, that he and Mr. Walrond and I agreed not to bring the business of declaring into the assembly, and that thereupon we parted, hoping our labour was not lost, and that peace might still be preserv'd. This insinuation is intirely false: For we gave Mr. Withers and him to know that we resolv'd to declare our faith in the ensuing assembly; and when Mr. P. said, then you must answer for the consequences; To this Mr. Walrond reply'd, They that began the fray, must answer for the conclusion: and so we parted. Farther, there was great reason for making such a publick declaration, when several men of different congregations had told me and other ministers, That the great sticklers in these opinions gave out, that Mr. P. was of their mind, and would commonly add, if Mr. P. was not of these opinions, why did he not declare against them? and I defended him as long as I could upon this, which I now find to be a quibble, that he was not of the peculiar opinion of Arius; tho' the difference between Arius and them, is only this; the first says, There is a Time when CHRIST was not; the latter say, there is an Eternity when he was not.

AND was it not time to make a publick declaration of our faith, when twenty ministers subscrib'd against the assembly? of which twenty, not above three, that ever I heard of, offer'd in any words whatsoever, to declare their belief of the TRINITY.

John Ball.

WHEREAS Mr. Peirce speaks farther of
 pag. 73. a previous meeting before the assembly, to
 which Mr. Withers. was invited, &c. this we
 allow; but whereas Mr. P. far her says, That when it
 was expected that he [Mr. Withers] shou'd have joyn'd
 with us, and that to this, he antwer'd, " That they
 knew how unanimously I [Mr. Peirce] was invited thither,
 not only by the people but by the assembly; and
 that for his part he could never concur in such dis-
 honoura-

honourable measures as they were taking to turn me out, "

WE whose names are under-written being present all the while Mr. Withers was there, do solemnly declare, That none of us have the least remembrance of any such answer made by Mr. Withers; and we are the better assur'd that our memories can't fail us because there was no occasion given for such an answer, it never being in our thoughts or intention to turn out Mr. Peirce or any other person; but should have receiv'd such a charge with the utmost resentment.

John Ball,
John Walrond,
John Enty,
John Lavington.

BUT to go on, Mr. Peirce charges Mr. Ball and Mr. Walrond with perfidy and breach of pag. 73. promise, for not inviting him to a meeting previous to the bringing this matter into the assembly. Concerning which those two ministers make the following declaration.

WE don't remember, we brought ourselves under any such obligation; but if we did, it was fulfill'd; for notice was sent him of the meeting at Mr. Pym's, and with our Approbation (which was previous to the bringing the matter into the assembly) and accordingly he was present there: Where then is there any ground for this out-cry of perfidiousness? and with what conscience could he give it such an opprobrious term? or who will say, that we were bound to call in Mr. P. to every lesser meeting that we had with particular friends?

John Ball,
John Walrond.

WHAT Mr. Peirce alledges in the same page of a minister's saying, If any would not declare, they would leave them to the people. No particular reply can be made to it, because 'tis not known who is charg'd.

And whereas he adds, I take it to be *a farther evidence of perfidiousness*; the reader is desir'd to cast his eye on what Mr. Ball remarks on pag. 31, of the *West. Inq.*

Mr. Peirce in this page boasts of his con-
pag. 74. quest in the choice of a *moderator*; but he has the less reason to triumph in this, because the said gentleman has since prov'd himself an *Arian* under his own hand, which 'tis probable Mr. P. and his friends were appriz'd of before the choice: tho' very few, if any, of the other side had any suspicion of it. Some of these were not come into the *assembly*, whereas Mr. P. and his friends took care to be there, and therefore seeing a *moderator* is chosen when only fourteen ordain'd ministers are present, what wonder is it that Mr. P. and his friends had their choice, and what a poor occasion is this for triumph.

To Mr. Peirce's farther reflections, Mr. pag. 75. *Josiah Eveleigh* and Mr. *Hall*, make the following reply.

THE reader is desir'd to take notice I have hitherto had the honour of the greatest share of Mr. P's Indignation to light upon me. He tells me, * *I know your temper to be over officious, I know no business you had to intermeddle in our affair except you design'd to act the part of an incendiary, a busy impertinence must have been dearer to you than your right hand:* And yet when he now comes to relate the history at large of the affairs at *Exeter*, and of a ferment working in the city for two years antecedent to his ejectionment, he does not see cause to mention me, *as concern'd in any one instance*, and I knew he could not; except my coming twice to the *City* on purpose to persuade to conferences, and twice at the request of the committee. What then shall the world think of Mr. P's reflections and accusations? But to what he says, pag. 74. of his *West. Inq.* That himself *with three other zealous brethren*, (so he is pleas'd to style us, for I was one of them) were appointed to examine two candidates; that we *ask'd them what we pleas'd, and particularly about the TRINITY*, and reported our satisfaction to the *assembly*: And yet afterwards by *our own arbitrary*

* See his letters to Mr. Eveleigh.

arbitrary authority, would have insisted upon these candidates signing the doctrine of the TRINITY in the words of the Assemblies Catechism or some such form.

THE truth of the matter between the candidates (which I with my colleagues were concern'd with) and me, consequent upon our report to the *assembly*, is what Mr. P's is an utter stranger to, and therefore should have said nothing about it, rather than have reported what was so very distant from truth. When the candidate I was concern'd with, was examin'd, among other things that pass'd, two of the ministers ask'd me, What I thought of him as to the TRINITY? I said, He had profess'd the doctrine of the TRINITY to me several times, *very lately*. But after the report was made of our satisfaction in him to the *assembly*, and exercises appointed; I had great reason to believe endeavours had been used to intangle him, and I thought if he came into the pulpit with these new notions, I, that was his voucher, must bear the blame; therefore I could not sign his license unless I knew him clear. Mr. P. is mistaken, this was no arbitrary act or breech of order; but a new emergency the *assembly* could not foresee, and of more importance to be guarded against than a mere regard to former order: Nor had it been a crime, but a duty, if I had ventur'd to break through order to prevent such a mischief to the church. For order is for the end of order, and must not be insisted on to destroy its own end. See 2 Cor. x. 8. Neither did we, nor would we insist upon signing the words of the Assembly's Catechism or any such form as Mr. P. falsely says, but only offer'd to accept one out of several forms, or that he should be open and free in declaring in his own words; and that we would not insist upon what did not appear to be very important. *He was open and free* in declaring in his own words, and gave us satisfaction not in the words of any form, but to this purpose, "That the one infinite Essence was the Essence of the FATHER, of the SON, and so of the HOLY GHOST." One of my colleagues concurr'd with me in these measures, and the candidate concern'd *very clearly confirms this account, and professes his firm adherence to the eternal Godhead of the SON and of the HOLY GHOST.* And as I am willing to believe he was never

ver in the new faith, but stagger'd and set on by others of Mr. Hallet's young men to give us a little trouble; so I have good hopes, that he will be a useful servant in the Gospel of C H R I S T. This is the truth; and now let the reader compare it with the account Mr. P. gives, and see what he fills the world with, instead of true history.

Zosiah Eveleigh.

As to what relates to the other candidate, the minister who made the report from the examiners, owns, That upon recollection of the answers made at the time of examination, he cou'd not think them to be satisfactory, or any other than an *Arian* might make; and therefore without consulting any of his brethren, he gave an account of his dissatisfaction to the candidate, who some time after declar'd himself fully upon these heads. This is all the *arbitrary proceeding* this minister is chargeable with, *viz.* That he could not himself be concern'd in giving a licence to this candidate without acting contrary to his conscience; and if Mr. P. can give himself a greater liberty, this minister is free to own he can, not.

I N this page Mr. Peirce gives an account pag. 75. of what happen'd at a meeting where complaint was made of the growth of *Arianism*. He says, he call'd for a text where the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, were call'd the One GOD; and they reply'd to him with consequences. Well, and a good reply it was; for it appears, that plain and necessary consequences from *Scripture*, are as truly and properly parts of the divine revelation as the propositions syllabically contain'd in the *Bible*. For proof of this the reader need only compare verse 31, 32, with verse. 29, of Matth. ch. p. xxii Our LORD there tells the *Sadducees*, That their errors in relation to the being of spirits, the soul's immortality, and the RESURRECTION of the body, sprung from their ignorance of the *Scriptures*, even of those very *Scriptures*, which they themselves admitted as canonical, *viz.* the writings of *Moses*; and quotes a particular passage (*Exod. iii. 6.*) as carrying in it a sufficient confutation

confutation of their heresies. As touching the resurrection of the body, have you not read what was spoken to you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living. What can be more plain, than that our Lord makes an INFERENCE gather'd FROM such and such Premises in a reasoning way to be Scripture, since the doctrines of the soul's immortality, and the resurrection of the body (in proof of which this passage is referr'd to) are not literally contain'd in the passage, nor any other way to be come at, than by attending to a series of deductions or consequences? without admitting this principle, viz. That a Scripture consequence is Scripture, the quotation seems to be impertinent; no other end to be serv'd by it, than confirming the Sadducees in the mistakes of which our Lord seems concern'd to undeceive them: But allowing this principle, it contains what's abundantly sufficient for their conviction. This will appear by examining the strength of the argument, viz. You find (says CHRIST) in Moses's writings (which you receive) that long after those patriarchs had slept with their fathers, God says of them, I am the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob. The covenant relation he stood in to them was not dissolv'd by death; for if it were he could not say, I AM their God after they had been gather'd to the grave. This covenant was made with their entire persons, and as the SOUL is so richly provided for by it, so the bodies of those good men were included in the covenant, for upon this was that circumcision which was the seal of the righteousness of faith (or the seal of this gracious covenant.) Consequently as their souls were then alive, their bodies were also to be raised from the dust of death, that the whole man might inherit the full blessedness secur'd to him by that covenant which respected his intire person. If Abraham's soul did not then live how could God be properly call'd the God of the living Abraham? in what other respect could he be said to live, for his body was long since laid up in the cave Macpelah? This concludes the soul's immortality. And if God was Abraham's God (his intire person in covenant) how is it possible that his body should not rise, but it must be said that God's faithfulness did fail? The reader

reader may see that all our LORD aims at in this passage, is secur'd, being implicitly, tho' not in *totidem verbis* contain'd in his quotation; and since he calls this CONSEQUENTIAL way of reasoning SCRIPTURE, let those answer it to him, who oppose themselves to it.

BUT to proceed, Mr. Peirce in his act pag. 76. count of the previous conference at Mr. Pym's house, says, He propos'd the question, *If God commanded them to worship a creature, whether they would not do it?* He did so; and a minister present reply'd, That it was a wicked question; for it supposes that GOD contradicts himself. And whereas he says, he offer'd to prove to them, that they actually did worship a creature, according to their own notion, if they gave CHRIST all the worship that was due to him, let the reader observe what replies were made.

IT was answer'd by one, We do not worship CHRIST's human nature at all. Shall we worship our own flesh? He took our flesh.

AND further by another, That those things are in Scripture ascrib'd to the Person of CHRIST that strictly belong but to one of his natures; as for instance, when 'tis said, *God hath purchased his church by his own blood,* *Acts xx. 21.*

To which may be added, In worshipping of CHRIST our regard is to the fulness of the Godhead as it dwells in CHRIST. We are bound to worship GOD under what form soever he pleases to appear, without fearing to worship the form He appears in. Moses worshipp'd GOD, that appear'd in the bush, because he knew GOD was there. The assumption of the human nature by the SON of GOD, and his dying, is not the original ground and foundation of our worship; for his right and our obligation is founded on the infinite perfections of his nature: however, redemption as well as creation is a powerful motive to worship him, as it as an act of the greatest kindness to us, and such an one as none but GOD was capable of performing. The SON being the only Person in the GODHEAD that assum'd our nature, he only is capable of being worshipp'd as GOD incarnate; but still it is not the human nature (which is a creature) that we worship, but the Person who is GOD-MAN. To worship

worship him as such, is not to pay a different kind of worship, it only shows that supposing He had not assum'd our nature in order to our redemption, we could not have worshipp'd him under this character, nor from the motives, which now we have. We acknowledge his human naturé is advanc'd to the highest honour and perfection a creature is capable of, and its no small part of it to be for ever in personal union with him, who has a right to receive the utmost adoration of men and angels; but yet 'twas necessary the worshipping of God, as appearing in the human nature should be specially appointed and commanded; because otherwise mankind would be backward to worship the *Lord of Glory crucify'd*. To worship God, consider'd essentially, the light of nature dictates; but that God did manifest himself in flesh, could be only matter of revelation, and the practical owning our belief of this by our worshipping God under this appearance was thought fit to be made matter of special positive direction: and so was an honour or worship not properly given to our blessed Saviour, as Mr. P. speaks, only it is signified hereby, that He who appear'd as GOD-MAN, was by divine appointment to receive homage from ALL.

Mr. Peirce says, That long before this Mr. Withers offer'd to draw up his scheme, pag. 77. &c. but could not be heard. It looks as if Mr. P. did not think it for his purpose to tell us when or to whom this offer was made before September 1718. 'twould then perhaps have appear'd like to many of his other stories. But that such an offer should be made at the conference, is not remember'd by several that were there all the time, and therefore the assembly upon this account, is of apiece with his other accusations.

As to what Mr. Peirce says here of a certain minister's way of beginning his prayer, when pag. 75. we can have it intire without those intermediate strokes, and can be sure they are the very expressions he made use of, a proper answer may be return'd. However we can't but think it consistent with the rule of prayer to direct our supplications sometimes

to GOD essentially, and sometimes to GOD personally consider'd. Several such examples we have in the sacred Scriptures, and the reform'd *Liturgies* of the church. And this for substance is what Mr. *Lavington* has defended, and is all that the minister referr'd to, intended. But how civil and brotherly it was in that author to pick up, divide, and then publish the beginning of that worthy minister's prayer in such a manner, let the world judge.

MR. *Peirce* sets down a dialogue between another minister and himself about *giving glory pag. 78; to the HOLY SPIRIT*. Mr. *Ball* knowing himself to be the person intended (in the former part of it) gives this account.

MR. *Hallet* (the younger) preach'd the *lecture* in the morning, and in the afternoon I was with Mr. *P.* who ask'd me, Whether we had not a good sermon that morning? I answer'd, Yes: But the preacher gave no glory to the HOLY SPIRIT. Mr. *P.* reply'd; and where do you find in the New Testament glory given to the HOLY GHOST? I answer'd, That I thought Baptism in his name was the greatest glory that could be given him: to dedicate ourselves to him. To which Mr. *P.* made no reply, but held up his hands, and said no more: tho' he hath given us such another history of a long formal conference, as he did in his case pag. 4, of a conference with the twelve gentlemen of the committee, of which not one of the gentlemen remembers one word. The same he did another time, when I urg'd out of *Romans ch. i.* That if CHRIST was but an instrument in the creation, the supreme GOD could expect no honour from his creatures, at least, before the writings of the New Testament. The Gentiles, the apostle tells us, might know by the visible creatures the invisible things of GOD, even his ETERNAL POWER and GODHEAD; (which are strange words to be spoken of any one creature, or half creature:) but how could they learn from the creation, that the immediate Creator was not to be worshipp'd as the supreme GOD upon this account, because he deriv'd his power from another and he himself was but an instrument? I added, that the Jewish church was taught to worship the Creator of heaven and earth, but never heard

heard of an instrument that was the immediate Creator: At this Mr. P. lifted up his hands, and made no reply. He may please to say, that this is no arguing, but *clamour* and *nonsense*; but it seems to me to be a strong argument against CHRIST's being an *instrument* in the creation: and the *abler hand*, as Mr. P. assures us he was, that answer'd the pamphlet call'd *Arius detected*, says nothing that will weaken it.

John Ball.

By this account of Mr. Ball it appears, That when Mr. P. met with any thing he either could not, or car'd not to answer, lest he should too much discover himself, he thought it sufficient to be silent, and only to hold up his hand; such a carriage in others would have been reckon'd by him either a sign of a bad cause, or want of courage to defend it.

MR. Peirce takes the liberty to present the reader with the REASONS offered by Mr. *Withers* against making the following DECLARATION, [*I believe the FATHER, WORD, and SPIRIT, to be the One GOD.*] Which REASONS might have been pass'd over with silence, as not being published by Mr. *Withers* himself, did not other obvious Considerations oblige to the contrary. The following remarks are offered upon them. The first thing to be taken notice of is the *introduction* which is in these words:

" I take all words that are not the words of the
 " HOLY GHOST, to be the words of men, and by
 " consequence a human explication; and, in the case
 " before us, of a very abstruse point."

Answe. IT is conceived, that by the words of the HOLY GHOST, Mr. *Withers* must intend, such words as are immediately dictated by him. But will he say, That the mind of the HOLY GHOST cannot be express'd by any other words? If so, then no translation of the Bible can properly be call'd the word of GOD, and nothing ought to be deliver'd or receiv'd as such, except the original Hebrew, and Chaldee in the Old Testament, and

the Greek in the New. How far this sets aside the Authority of Scripture translations on the consciences of Men, and that acknowledg'd protestant principle, That it is the will of GOD that all nations should have the Scriptures in their own language ; not to say any thing of its vacating the office of the ministry : Mr. Withers would do well to consider. But if he or Mr. P. will allow, that the sense of the originals may be express'd in other words, 'tis all that is contended for ; and then, what he lays down as a *maxim*, will have nothing in it to affect the cause in debate. For tho' it be a human explication, (as he calls it) yet if it does truly express the sense of the HOLY GHOST, it ought to have from us the regard that is due to a divine Truth.

He says, That in the Case before us, it is an explication of a very abstruse point.

As to this, it is to be wish'd, Mr. Withers had let the world know, what it is he calls *abstruse*. Whether the proper Deity of CHRIST and his eternal and necessary distinction from the FATHER, or the manner of that distinction in one and the same divine Nature ? If he means the first, 'tis affirm'd, That it is plainly reveal'd in the Scriptures. If the latter, it will be obliging to name the man or minister that differs from him.

THE REASONS themselves are next to be consider'd, which are *first* against any declaration at all, and *then* against this in particular.

THE first of those against any at all, is deliver'd thus :

" I conceive, with submission to better Judgments,
 " that the bringing in such a test is contrary to the
 " good old rule, allow'd by all divines and lawyers,
 " *That no man is bound to accuse himself.* The declaration resolv'd upon, is no other than a discriminating
 " test. Marks of infamy will be set upon such as do dislike it. If this be deny'd to be the design, yet every person sees this must be the event. I know no obligation any man is under to accuse himself of errors in judgment, any more than of crimes in practice.
 " If any brother hath taught or preach'd contrary to the form of sound words, or his own subscriptions, let him

" him first be convicted, and then censur'd as he deserves. But for the method now propos'd, I can look on it no otherwise than an infringement of the common liberties of mankind."

Ans. THIS argument rests in a great measure upon the word *test*, by which, if he means the *testimony* which a man gives for himself to what he judges to be the truth, there is no harm in it. But if he means the *imposing* of the *declaration* as a standard of truth upon others, it is improperly, and very injuriously brought in here, as will appear from a naked account of the case. That which gave occasion to this intended *declaration*, was the importunity of many good people to know the sense of the *assembly*, touching an important article of faith; which was at that time disputed by some, and notions contrary to it advanc'd and maintain'd: As also to avoid the unjust charge of having departed from the commonly receiv'd faith in the H O L Y T R I N I T Y *. Under such circumstances, many ministers thought it their duty to declare their sense of that great article, and to propose the same to others, not pretending any authority over them in the matter, or imposing any thing upon them. This method, it seems, was dislik'd by Mr. Withers and some of his brethren.

Let his REASONINGS be now examin'd. He says, *It is allow'd by all divines and lawyers, that no man is bound to accuse himself.* Admitting it in those matters that subject men to temporal penalties to which this rule does primarily refer, 'tis judg'd it ought not to be brought here into the question. Which is not, Whether a man in a court of judicature, and liable to the penalties of the law, be bound to accuse himself of things which he knows to be punishable *crimes*? But whether, as the case then stood, a minister was under a *call* from G O D to declare what he believ'd to be the truth, how much soever that which he took to be the truth might differ from or agree with the doctrine commonly receiv'd. He calls it a *discriminating test*. The reader ought to carry

* Vide Account of what was transacted in the Assembly May 5 and 6, 1719.

carry it all along in his mind, that this assembly was only a voluntary meeting of ministers to confer and agree upon such things as they judg'd for the interest of religion, and the good of their congregations. The declaration which any might make at such a meeting can be no more accounted a test to others in the disapproved sense of the word, than a man's delivering his judgment in free conversation and what must be his conduct relating thereto, can be call'd a test to those that might differ from him. Again, it must be consider'd here, That ministers are however the messengers of God, and 'tis conceiv'd to be as much *their duty to declare* what they believe to be the mind of God, as it is the peoples *to seek the law at their mouth* *, especially in so great a point as that which concerns the object of their worship: And tho' this shall eventually cause a discrimination, it excuses not from a duty, which must be perform'd, and the event left to God. He says, *Marks of infamy will be set upon such as do dislike it.* If, as before, the declaration itself be necessary and justifiable, the ministers making it can by no means be chargeable with consequences drawn by others from it: And if it be the real truth and of the highest importance, it will, and it ought to affect so far, as to distinguish those who differ in their opinions and judgments. He says further, *I know no obligation any man is under to accuse himself of errors in judgment, any more than of crimes in practice, &c.* nor do any pretend to a power to compel them. The question is not of a man's accusing himself, but of his obligation to inform humble inquirers of the mind of God, and to help them against opposite errors. Besides, there is not a parity in these two cases; Does Mr. Peirce or Mr. Withers think that they whom he supposes to hold errors in Judgment, are as conscious of their errors, as of the crimes they are guilty of in practice? If they know them to be errors, and yet maintain them, they must be men of very bad principles, and base design. But if notwithstanding they be errors, they take them to be important truths and act conscientiously, surely they cannot but reckon themselves, especially if Gospel

Gospel ministers, oblig'd to publish them, and be far from thinking this an accusing of themselves. If it be said, That tho' they account them to be truths, yet others who desire them to declare their faith, will look on them as dangerous errors. What then? may they not for all this be bound to declare it? Did not the Scribes and Pharisees look upon the doctrine of CHRIST as forgery and falsehood, and treated those with severity that publish'd it? And yet CHRIST and his apostles did not refuse to declare it, nor did they defend themselves against their adversaries upon this maxim, That they were not bound to accuse themselves of error. Mr. Withers concludes this head with the following words : *For the method now propos'd, I can look on it no otherwise than an infringement of the common liberties of mankind.* 'Tis strange, that a proposal to ministers of making known their sentiments in a matter of this consequence, should be call'd an infringement of common liberty. The brethren thought they acted consistently with all just liberties, when tho' they conceiv'd themselves bound in duty to GOD to make a declaration of their faith, they did not offer to compel others to do the same, nor had it in their power or inclination to do so. But if their discharging what they take to be their indispensable duty, be an infringement of the others liberty, there is no such thing as liberty; because to secure their brethrens liberty, they must in this case suffer a manifest infringement of their own. Therefore with submission, it seems a very absurd way of preserving the common liberties of mankind, for one side to claim the whole of liberty to themselves, and leave none to the other.

His second REASON : " I apprehend such a management will condemn the puritans for refusing, and justify their adversaries in imposing the oath *ex officio*. With what face can we practice that ourselves, which we blame in others; who tho' they had no reason, had more authority for what they did? " I can look on the intended project as no other than " an Inquisition into mens consciences, a ransacking of " their minds, and a piece of ecclesiastical tyranny."

Answ. THOSE of the High-commission in Queen Elizabeth's time, who were authoriz'd to administer the oath *ex officio*, pretended a power from parliament to *attach, fine or imprison* offenders. The *puritans* oppos'd this oath as a grievous imposition, and well they might; because it subjected them to severe penalties. But is there any parity or likeness between this case and that under present consideration? between a free meeting of brethren in the ministry, where a proposal is made touching which, every one is left at his liberty to act according to the direction of his conscience; and a court of commission arm'd with parliamentary power to inflict severe penalties upon such as refuse? And what is there in a proposal for a *declaration of faith* that must condemn the *puritans* for refusing, and justify their adversaries in imposing the oath *ex officio*? Does the disclaiming impositions and acting nothing like 'em, justify others in their impositions, or condemn those that refuse to submit to them? Do any think, that because the *puritans* objected to the oath *ex officio*, they would have objected to the making a *declaration* in the assembly? Till better arguments are produc'd, than any that have been seen hitherto, Mr. *Withers* must give his brethren leave to remain persuaded, that were the *puritans* now living, they would most of them have been as zealous for a declaration as they were against the oath: Yea, that good Mr. *Fox* himself, who refus'd to subscribe any thing but the *Greek Testament*, would have reckon'd the proposing a declaration in the assembly no imposition, as the matter has been stated, and whilst no legal penalties could be inflicted upon those that were of a contrary judgment. Our godly forefathers, how much soever they were against impositions, did never exclaim against mens making a voluntary declaration of their faith. Wherefore to cite the *puritans* here, is to abuse their example, and reflect upon their memories. And to use Mr. *Withers*'s own words, tho' with some reluctance, *With what face can any man accuse his brethren of practising that themselves which they blame in others,* when they are so very remote from it; and seeing, as they had no power or authority to oblige any to fall in with what was offer'd, they were *uncapable* of imposing it upon

on others from their *circumstances* as well as *inclination*? However, that they had reason to make the above-mention'd proposal, must be evident to all that are willing to understand the case, and believe it to be the concern and duty of ministers to preserve the Truth, and to settle the minds of solicitous inquirers in that most important article of their religion. Their endeavouring this, was no ill intended project, tho' it be call'd an *Inquisition* into mens consciences, a ransacking of their minds, and a piece of ecclesiastical tyranny. Hard words! 'Tis pity they were ever pronounc'd by one of Mr. *Withers*'s sense and character, especially since himself refers us to their own subscriptions as a rule of judging them *. Surely he had forgot how often he hath desir'd, nay, demanded the same thing of those in whose ordination he hath been concerned.

HIS third and last REASON is in these words : " I doubt this may be introductory to other innovations, if we should give way now. We have one test this year, perhaps we shall have another next ; and every man that can get to be *head of a party*, will be for making a new *creed*, and we shall never know where to stop. And therefore what *Juvenal* [rather *Persius*] said of the natural, may be very well applied to an ecclesiastical body, *venienti occurrite morbo.*"

Answ. IF it was not usual for the ministers at this assembly to make a declaration of their faith, it is because they had not at any time before, so loud a call, or such special reasons moving them to it. The matter to be declar'd was no innovation. They were to do nothing, but what it is suppos'd they had done at their ordination or entrance upon the exercise of their ministry. If they did not repent of their first subscription, why should they be unwilling to repeat it for fear of future possible consequences? Should any thing hereafter be offer'd of a more doubtful and less important nature, there would not be the same necessity of declaring then, as now ; and wise men should know when, and how far

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* *Vide Reason the first.*

it is their duty to comply or refuse. He says, *We have one test this year, perhaps we shall have another next.* Truth is an invariable thing, and does not change with times and seasons. Supposing him to speak of the same particular Truth, that which is a test (as he thinks fit to term it) of mens orthodoxy this year, will be the same the next, and perpetually so. The insinuation, as if those who propos'd a declaration were for making a new creed, and aiming to be heads of a party, affords matter of sorrowful reflection. The only design was to preserve that faith, which was firmly believ'd to be *the faith once delivered to the saints*; and for that reason, the most effectual way to prevent the making of new creeds, or any one's getting to be *head of a party*. The method propos'd to the assembly, was to obviate a growing infection, and suitable enough to the maxim quoted from *Persius*, except, that they were blam'd by their people for being too cautious and slow in their proceedings.

HAVING thus consider'd his reasons against any test at all, the next to be examin'd, are those he offers against this declaration in particular.

FIRST, he observes, "That this expression is not to be found in the most ancient creeds, even such as were drawn up against the *Arians* themselves; nay, even some of the most eminent defenders of the *Nicene* faith have cautiously avoided it. To prove this, he quotes St. *Hilary* and St. *Austin*. The first thus writes, *de Trinitate*, Lib. VIII. *Uterque [sc. Pater. & Filius] potius unum confitendus est esse, quam unus.* Again, *Patrem & Filium singularem Deum praedicare s' sacrilegum est.*" The latter of which passages may with reason be taken to be a fair explication of the former, the sense of which expression, seems evidently this, That to affirm the FATHER, and the SON, to be the One God, exclusively one of another, is sacrilegious.

THAT which he quotes from *Austin*, Tom. VI. p. 342. is this: *Non ergo unus & idem est Pater & Filius, sed unum sunt Pater & Filius.* Leave is crav'd to explain this quotation from *Austin* by *Austin* himself. His words are these: *Deus est unus & trinus, sed non secundum*

secundum idem ; est unus essentialiter, trinus personaliter, contradictoria enim non affirmantur de eodem, si ei non tribuantur secundum idem, in essentiâ divinâ est alius & alius non aliud & aliud, alius enim est pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus Sanctus, hi tres autem sunt potius Unum quam unus. Austin de Fid. & de Heres. What can his sense in these expressions be other than this, That tho' in the Divine Essence there be Three distinct Persons, yet in respect of *Essence* they are but *One*. And Mr. Withers will not say, that the assembly in their expression had any other meaning. Surely he had overlook'd another passage of St. Austin, which is this, Secundum philosophum solus idem est quod non cum alio, & ideo, tantummodo excludit illud quod alienatum dicit, Filius autem non est alius a Patre in essentia sed tantum in persona. Tract. in Johan. And again, Quicquid est essentiae divine & denominationis ab ea non minus de Filio & Spiritu Sancto quam de ipso Patre denuntiatur. De prædesti. Sanct. Add to these, that passage with which he concludes his book of the TRINITY. Domine Deus unus, Deus Trinitas, quecumque dixi in hoc libro de tuo, agnoscant & tui, si quid de meo, & tu ignosce, & tui. Mr. Withers says of both these Fathers, That they own'd the FATHER and SON to be one in Nature : it must then be difficult to know, what he means by one in nature, if he doth not intend that they are ONE GOD ? 'Tis hop'd, they are rightly explain'd ; if Mr. Withers thinks otherwise, it will be hard to find in what lense he understands them.

THE next REASO N Mr. Withers expresses thus : " The words I object against, are the words of one of the most notorious Hereticks that ever disturb'd the church, I mean, Paulus Samosatenus, patriarch of Antioch, who liv'd in the middle of the third century, and was condemn'd by the most numerous council the church ever saw, before that of Nice. His heresy is thus describ'd by Epiphanius, Her. 65. This man affirms, That GOD the FATHER, SON, and HOLY SPIRIT, are ONE GOD : That the WORD and SPIRIT were from all Eternity in GOD, as a man's reason is in his own heart ; but the SON had no proper personal subsistence of his own."

Answ. 'Tis matter of satisfaction, that Mr. *Withers* owns, there are such *monsters* as *hereticks*, and that they are disturbers of the church ; but will he say, there was any thing offer'd at the *assembly*, that carry'd any thing like *Paulus Samosatenus*'s sense in it ? 'Tis hoped, Mr. *Withers* did not intend to represent his brethren so to the world. The expression offer'd to the *assembly*, was in opposition to those who deny'd **C H R I S T** to be one **G O D** with the **F A T H E R**; that asserted him to be another **G O D** and inferior to the **F A T H E R**: Their busines was to provide against that error, and by their expression they took care to do it. *Paulus Samosatenus* was not adjudg'd an *heretick* for owning the **S O N** to be *the eternal G O D*, but denying him to be a *distinct Subsistence*, and for saying, that **W O R D** and **S P I R I T** were from all *Eternity in G O D*, as *a man's reason is in his own heart*. But did any thing like this appear at the *assembly*? Mr. *Withers* must be conscious, that the only thing propos'd, was, to know, what the ministers thought touching this proposition, **T h e F A T H E R , W O R D , a n d S P I R I T , a r e t h e O n e G O D .** Had there any such words as those of *P. Samosatenus*, or those of *Servetus*, which he quotes out of *Turretin*, been mention'd, such a declaration would have countenanc'd *Sabellianism*, but whilst there was not the least appearance of any such thing, Mr. *Withers* must not be offended, if his reasons and quotations are thought foreign to the purpose.

H I S last REASON is this : " I am perswaded a declara-
 " tion in these words, will give countenance to many
 " in this city, who embrace the wild *Sabellian* notions.
 " We have here some zealous mechanicks, who fill
 " town and country with fearful out-cries against the
 " *Arians*, and run into the contrary extreme, affirming,
 " That the **F A T H E R** is the **S O N**, the **S O N** the **F A-**
 " **T H E R**; that **G O D** the **F A T H E R** took flesh, &c.

Answ. *Dudley Cary* and *George Jewell*, who are the only persons known to be charg'd with these blasphemous opinions, have declar'd under their hands, that they abominate these opinions, and that they do not know

know of any that hold them, and have acknowledg'd, according to the receiv'd faith of the christian churches, That there is but One God, and in that God or Godhead, there are three Distinctions or Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that these are more than distinct Modes or Names *.

AFTER what has been said. It must now be declar'd to the world, that Mr. Withers having (since his giving the reasons above recited) satisfy'd his people by assenting to the first article of the Church of England, this answer had never thus appear'd, nor his name been so much as mentioned here, had not Mr. Peirce by his publishing and applying them to the use he does, render'd it high'y necessary. Such is Mr. Wither's character, that to say any thing which might seem in the least to detract from it, must put a force upon every generous and good mind.

FROM Mr. Withers's reasons we proceed to consider the reflections Mr. Peirce is pleas'd to cast upon the assembly for insisting on a declaration. He and his party were conscious to themselves of their private sentiments, and therefore no wonder they oppos'd any declaration whatsoever for fear of being detected. When they could not carry a vote against it, he endeavoured to amuse the assembly with general charges of errore of another nature, that he might divert them from declaring and defending the truth of the present day. He brings no particular charge against any that were guilty of the dangerous errors, and blasphemous expressions he makes mention of. It is not to be expected, that every private unlearned christian should be able to speak so accurately and justly about these matters as were to be desired, when they may be far from enterraining such gross apprehensions as Mr. Peirce and others would fasten upon them. It's to be wished indeed such christians would be cautious how they express themselves, and not venture out of their depth. However, we cannot but think, that such men as Mr. Peirce are undoubtedly

* See the certificate, p. 57.

ly much more guilty and highly to blame, who know how to exprefs accurately enongh, their real sense, and yet by their exprefſions, do too plainly evidence the very degrading and dishonourable thoughts they have of the SON and BLESSED SPIRIT. When we consider Mr. P—'s sentiments in relation to the FATHER 'tis poſſible those after all who ſpeak of the SON and SPIRIT as the ONE GOD with the FATHER equal to him in power and glory, may be the persons look'd upon as holding these dangerous errors and uttering those blaſphemous exprefſions. But ſuppoſing there are any more culpable, yet ſince Mr. P. on all occasions is ſo favourable and charitable to those who ſpeak very dishonourably and wickedly (as appears by the certificates) of the SON and SPIRIT, why ſhould he be ſo very ſevere upon those who are not of his ſentiments concerning the FATHER? Especially if he remember that GOD will have *all men to honour the Son even as they honour the Father, and he that denieth the Son hath not the Father, but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also.* There may be as much danger in erring on the one hand as on the other, and therefore an equal concern and zeal ſhould be shown in both caſes.

T H E Person here reſlected on is the Reve-
pag. 85. rend Mr. Eny who makes the following re-
ply.

I am the Person repreſented as forward to interrupt any that mov'd for a fair Debate. This is false in fact, for I was willing to have the matter canvaſt, and to hear what persons had to object againſt declaring ourſelves. I was rudely insulted by the Moderator without the leaſt cauſe or provocation (as breaking in upon the order of the *assembly*) that I was forc'd for my own reputation, and to prevent the vain triumphs that I foreſaw would be made upon this occaſion, to demand faſtification, having never in all my life been ſo treated in the *assembly* and the *moderator* was ſo ſenſible of his miſtake, and of the iuſtice that he had done me, that he hath more than once begg'd my pardon; which I very readily granted, in the preſence of ſeveral minifters at Mr. Lavington's the ſame day. This was all the faſtification

tisfaction I expected, and the reason why I did not insist upon having it before the *assembly*, was, because we had other business then before us, which I had nearer at heart than any concerns of my own, and which I was loth should be obstructed, as was design'd by this and some other methods. As to what is farther said, that I should offer [*That he did not consult his interest or reputation, and that I would take a Time to enquire into his opinions*] this I am very sure (as I can be of any thing of this nature) is a great mistake, and that nothing was to this purpose.

John Enty.

IT appears by Mr. *Enty's certificate*, he was not one of those, that oppos'd hearing what could be offer'd against the expediency of any declaration; but certainly the reasons of those persons were not like to weigh much, who were either so *weak*, as not to be able to distinguish between mens making a free and voluntary declaration for themselves, and their submitting to impositions and matters determin'd by mere authority; or else were so *crafty* as to confound these things, and make them be taken the one for the other, that by the odium of the one, they might slur the other which in itself is a very innocent thing, and in some cases, as in this before us, a very laudable and necessary duty. The members of the *assembly* knew their own sentiments, and were acquainted with the state of religion in those parts before they met, and therefore needed not a long debate, Whether they should declare or not? If the patrons of error struggled hard against every thing that had a tendency to take off their disguises, and to discover what really they were, there was but little reason, for them who were in the common faith and had a concern for the honour of *CHRIST* and religion to be much impress'd by it.

THE next thing to be remark'd, is, his clamour at a letter of Mr. *Walrond's* to his friend in *London*, of which Mr. *Walrond* gives the following account,

Mr.

Mr. Peirce is pleas'd to give himself and the world a great deal of trouble about a letter which Mr. Walrond sent to Mr. Tong. The case was truly this ; which will let the reader into the beginning of this controversy in publick.

Mr. Ball, Mr. Walrond, and several other ministers, as often as they met together, for above two years past, greatly lamented the state of religion in and near Exeter, where very dangerous errors concerning the Divinity of our Blessed SAVIOUR had obtain'd credit ; but yet were willing to try what silence, forbearance, private argument, and mutual conferences might effect : But finding to their sorrow, that these errors spread the faster, and infected many souls, like the pestilence that walketh in darkness ; and particularly in an academy, where many young men were educated for the ministry, and not a few were already tainted, little opposition being made, or discouragement given to them : And hearing with great compassion the lamentation of parents over the seduction of their children ; others, of their friends and neighbours ; and others suspecting their very ministers, and blaming their silence ; and many scandals arising every day upon the dissenters on this account ; and being earnestly importun'd by their own people to appear against these spreading errors : They at length resolv'd to advise with some of their brethren in London about so important a case, particularly the Reverend, Mr. Tong, and Mr. Reynolds, † to whom the two above named ministers were so happy as to be known, giving them as exact a state of the case as they could be inform'd of, by very credible Persons in Exeter, and desiring the Benefit of their Counsel, how to behave themselves in such a Juncture ; particu'larly in the Assembly then approaching, September 1718. And Mr. John Vowler, then Mr. Peirce's special freind and communicant, being at Ottery (a person whose testimony will be credited as much as Mr. Peirce's or any of his

† The letter sent to Mr. Reynolds, did not reach his hands till after the letter of Advices was sent to Exeter, he being for some weeks at fifty miles distance from London.

his friends) I, who have underwritten my name shew'd him this dangerous letter to Mr. Tong before I sent it, that I might be the surer my account was right (this worthy person being well acquainted with the state of Exeter) he intirely approv'd of the letter, and desir'd me to forward it; to which no other reply was expect'd, than from one private friend to another. But Mr. Tong thought the subject of it to be of such Importance as to communicate it to several other worthy ministers in London, which produc'd the answer that has been more than once publish'd, which answ'r I was order'd by the Assembly to read to them; tho' Mr. Peirce labour'd hard to obstruct it, by offering a nameless letter from London, in which I was charg'd with reflecting upon the ministers of Exon, as venting blasphemous expressions concerning the TRINITY, which was A NOTORIOUS FALSHOOD; tho' indeed too many of such kind of expressions were utter'd by ignorant and erroneous people in that city, to the horror of sober minds, and the scandal of our christian profession.

BUT this anonymous libel was rejected by the assembly with indignation, the author of which, Mr. Peirce would not pretend to guess at. He then demanded a copy of my Letter, to which I reply'd, That it being written only to a private friend, and not imagining the subject of it would have been made so publick, I had kept none, but would write to Mr. Tong for it, which I did forthwith. But Mr. Tong was then gone down to Coventry for some time, and upon his return wrote me two letters, which were read in the next assembly of May following. In the first of which Mr. Tong is pleas'd to say,

" I must own, I presum'd too much upon your candour,
 " in making your first letter so publick; but if the an-
 " swer it produc'd has done any service, I am secure
 " of your pardon from your great concern for the cause
 " of Truth and Peace. I am sorry that the letter has
 " been quite worn out in my pocket, having carry'd it
 " some hundreds of miles: But there will be sufficient
 " evidence, that the Anonymous paper has done you
 " wrong." Upon the receipt of which letter, I wrote again to Mr. Tong, to desire even any fragments of my first letter, so much question'd on the Arian side; if possible

to be recover'd, as not being ashamed it should be seen by any man. To which he again reply'd in these words : " You cannot easily imagine how much I am griev'd ; " and even ashamed, that I should wear to pieces and lose such a letter as yours was ; I am sure the matter, the manner, and the writer, deserv'd much more regard from me. If my life depended upon it, I can not recover one inch of it, tho' I think I am pretty well appriz'd of the contents, especially in the most essential parts of it. I hope this failure of mine, tho' not to be excus'd by me, will be pardon'd by you ; and that no ill effects, either to you or to the Truth shall arise from it."

Both these letters being read in the assembly of May, above-mention'd, gave full satisfaction to the ministers, who said, *What could Mr Walrond have done more ?* and yet we find Mr. P. so charitable as to suggest to the world, p. 91. that this letter has been found again. And after all this, when I wrote again to Mr. Tong to re-collect himself as to the subject of that first letter, he was pleas'd to give me an ample acquittal from anything injurious to the Exeter ministers ; affirming, That there was nothing in it like a charge of *Arianism* or *Semiarrianism*.

But whether any of these ministers were chargeable with errors of that nature, let some of their books decide, particularly the famous *West. Inq.* to go no farther, in which our blessed SAVIOUR is suppos'd to be neither the supreme GOD nor a creature, but a medium between both, *West. Inq.* p. 15. so that he is reduc'd to a non-entity, and the figment of a wild and unaccountable fancy, contrary to *revelation, reason and common sense* ; but too much like that of the poet, *Sunt mihi semi Dei, &c. ¶* But admit, that this letter so much cavill'd at, had indeed deserv'd their censure ; yet I don't find they make the least exception to the Answer it occasion'd, nor find any fault with the advice it brought ; so that it is a little odd, that so very much ado

^f Let the reader observe also *West. Inq.* pag. 24, 25. and pag. 140. and pag. 148, 149. See also his *Remarks on the Accounts of the Assembly*, p. 26, 27.

should be made about it. Where is the harm done, if the advice that follow'd it, was good and wholesome? It is fit here to be observ'd, how unfairly Mr. P. blends all the letters together, and seems to insinuate, that the several informations given by various hands, came only from that first letter of mine, tho' the Narrative says, **THAT LETTERS WERE RECEIVED FROM SOME EMINENT MINISTERS NEAR EXETER, COMPLAINING,** &c. p. 4. And, afterwards, it was farther signify'd, &c. pag. 5. which intimates more letters and authors than one, as indeed there were. It is not amiss in this place to take Notice, that Mr. P. was pleas'd (with his usual truth and temper) in a former pamphlet, to say, **That Mr. Walrond gave a disingenuous account to London;** whereas he acknowledges he could not know what account he gave; but that his letter remain'd a mystery, **Inq. p. 91.** and, with great civility and christianity terms this unknown letter, **mischievous and malicious as ever any penn'd by the writer, and the whole Narrative a mere collusion and joggle.** These are words which a wise man would despise, and a christian never retaliate, especially when he can rejoice in the innocence and integrity of his own mind; neither should I delight in drawing so rough a saw, in return to Mr. P's ingenuity and good breeding, in many places of his book I think, unbecoming a divine, a christian, or a gentleman. The truth is, this writer would fain condemn the Letters and the Narrative, extracted out of them, to lessen the reputation of the authors, which they have the comfort to hope, thro' God's goodness, may possibly be out of his shot, tho' he drew the arrow to the head. The Letters were true and faithful, the account they gave, a just account; but the fault of them was, that they discover'd the bidden works of darkness, that were carrying on apace, and laid open a conspiracy against the divinity and glory of Christ and the Holy Spirit; which these gentlemen were at first ashame'd to own, but have since spoken out more boldly upon the unexpected encouragement they have receiv'd from several quarters.

John Walrond.

THEY who read the account here given by Mr. Walrond of his letter to Mr. Tong, as to a private friend, and minister, without any thought or design of his communicating it to others, will not wonder that he did not keep a copy of it; and whoever considers Mr. Tong's account how it came to be worn out and lost, has all the reason in the world to be satisfy'd there could be no base design to serve in losing it; especially after it had been read more than once in a meeting of many ministers, some of whom were as great friends to Mr. Peirce as they were to Mr. Walrond. The substance of it might be guess'd at by the answer, and if Mr. P. and his party had nothing to object against that, why is all this clamour and outcry about a thing that produc'd no worse effects?

WE shall now answer what relates to the London ministers.

MR. Peirce says, That they at LONDON pag. 86. were not capable of judging, whether

Mr. Walrond's account was a just and fair one, &c. And, it is the easiest thing in the world for some men to give a disingenuous representation of a case. And we will say, a false one too, as to our grief we find is too much confirm'd by Mr. P. himself throughout his whole Book. But the objection he would raise from hence against the London ministers as judges in the case, is altogether groundless; for they took not upon them to judge Mr. P. nor did they enter into the merit of the cause. They only gave general rules of advice, and those as they are laid down in the Scriptures, and left it to others to make their use of them in the fear of God. This they are by their office bound to do, as oft as application is made to them in a christian manner; but they determin'd nothing against Mr. P. wherefore his complaints and exclamations both here and elsewhere are no other than the effect of a di-stemper'd spirit and downright calumny.

He adds, That the ministers in London, did not take the proper course to know the full state of the case.

This

This proper course was, that they should have writ to him. But in case he had given a different account, must all have gone for nothing that Mr. Walrond had wrote merely out of deference to Mr. Peirce? The minister who made the motion must upon this account be in his esteem a man of great prudence and equity. But if it had been comply'd with, they had certainly taken the most unlikely way of arriving at satisfaction. Mr. Walrond was well known to several, and there was no reason to suspect his integrity, or call his veracity into question. The sad event justifies the truth of his account, and that he was so far from aggravating things, that they were much worse than he represented them to be. There was no need of writing to Mr. P. since all that the ministers undertook or did, was only to send a letter of general advices agreeable to the *Scriptures*, touching which Mr. P. and his party can find no fault. And 'tis very plain from Mr. P's conduct, that if he had been apply'd to, he would have used so many shuffling arts and evasions, as would have kept the *London* ministers intirely in the dark as to the true state of their cause at Exeter.

MATTERS being clear'd with respect to Mr. Walrond and the *London* ministers. The *editors* of the *Narrative* crave leave to re-ply to the very indecent and unworthy reflections Mr. P. has cast upon them, pag. 90, 91.

THE matters objected against them, are 1st, That Mr. Tong's and Mr. Robinson's letters, as they are printed, in the *Narrative*, differ very much from the copy deliver'd to the scribe of the assembly at Exeter, West. Inq. p. 90. 2dly, That Mr. Walrond's original letter was lost, when he pretended to want it, and found again, when the *Narrative* was to publish an account from originals. 3dly, That the whole of that *Narrative* is to be look'd upon as a mere collusion and juggle, p. 91.

To the first of these it is answer'd, That the letters were faithfully copied word for word as they were deliver'd to the transcriber, and so put into the *Narrative*, by which the editors thereof sufficiently acquit themselves.

To his Additions in the work still left themselves. And upon comparing those in the *Narrative* with the letters printed in the *West. Inq.* the reader will find the variation so small as not to make the least exceptionable difference in matter or sense. Mr. Tong in copying his own original might see no danger (as indeed there was none) in such minute alterations. The paragraph omitted 'tis plain was no part of the letter read and agreed to by the brethren to be the answer to Mr. Walrond, only an after reference to it and Mr. Robinson's letter, and concludes with expressions of respect to Mr. Bell and Mr. Walrond; all which had been superfluous to put into the *Narrative*, nothing being said in this paragraph to the present purpose but what is said in Mr. Robinson's letter.

To the second, it is reply'd. That if Mr. Walrond's first letter had been the only one that gave an account of matters, there might have been some ground for the charge. But there were others besides this, and one from Mr. Walrond confirming what he had before sent, with further particulars. This letter bears date August 30. 1718, which was but four days after the date of Mr. Tong's and Mr. Robinson's letters; and before Mr. Walrond, (or it may be Mr. Peirce himself,) could be inform'd of what he is charg'd to have written in his first letter. It was from this second letter, that several particulars in the *Narrative* were extracted and particularly that expression, *Laymen now talk'd of and disputed about it, [the Arian error] in many odious and blasphemous phrases.* This not only furnishes a further proof that Mr. Walrond charg'd the people and not the ministers, with these blasphemous expressions; but it shows, that Mr. P's remark as if the first letter were found again, was owing only to an unjust and groundless surmise.

His third and last charge, namely, that the whole of the *Narrative* is to be look'd upon as a mere collusion and juggle falls to the ground. The force of his argument is form'd upon an advantage hastily catch'd at by the loss of Mr. Walrond's first letter. But seeing there were other accounts given, and those (now) made good by sufficient vouchers and proofs, where has there been any collusion or juggle? The editors of the *Narrative* have comfort in reflecting on their sincerity, exactness

exactness and care about what they publish'd, and of which they have given an account in the *Introduction*. They have publish'd nothing but what those from whom they had their informations do acknowledge to be just and faithful; what they approve and confirm. And were it needful they could further assure Mr. P. and the world in the most solemn manner, that there was no concert, no collusion, no juggle, no design to keep the world in the dark; nor was there any occasion or reason for it. And it is left to the reader to judge, whether they would not have been notable jugglers, who after the calling together as many ministers as could be got, and laying before them a letter for their consideration and answer; and its being once and again read to them; and the answer directed and approv'd by every one present, to the number of twenty-five, some of them, at least, Mr. P's particular friends; they should notwithstanding, form a design of keeping the world in the dark as to what was contain'd in that letter. And as to the mischievousness and malice of it, let Mr. Fowler, who saw it, and whose character is well known, say whether he had such opinion of it.

MANY reflections might be made on this as well as the other parts of Mr. P's conduct, but these are rather left to his own conscience. May God, (who teaches us to pray for such as despitefully use us,) give him a heart to repent of the wrong he has done in this and many other instances to those, that have deserv'd better at his hands, and might have expected from him a more civil and christian treatment!

We shall dismiss this matter (about which Mr. P. and his agents have endeavour'd to make a great noise without reason) after we have spoken to one or two things more.

MR. P. complains, That he was not permitted to read the account he had receiv'd. And he gives a very good reason for it himself, viz. Because his letter had no ~~any~~ name subscrib'd, and he would not tell who wrote it. Without knowing this, the assembly would have been at a loss whether it came from a man of wisdom and integrity or not, or how far there was ground for giving any credit to it. And seeing Mr. P. is far from being wanton to trouble and a plague to mankind, it is good judgment and no profavor to silence him.

ing in any thing that might serve his cause, his refusing to tell the Name both then and since, tho' fully assur'd of it, is a plain evidence, that his letting it be known would be of no service to him and his party in that Assembly.

The last thing we shall observe, is his casting a foul slander upon Mr. Walrond from bare surmise, representing him as having procur'd or at least hastned Mr. Beadon's ejectment for acquainting him [Mr. Peirce] That it was own'd, after the assembly, there was mention made in the letter of blasphemous Expressions concerning the TRINITY, but that these Expressions were charg'd upon the people and not upon ministers. And what was there in this to excite Mr. Walrond's revenge? He never did nor had any reason to deny his giving an account of this, which tho' a sad, was a very manifest truth. But it is utterly false that this procur'd or hastned Mr. Roger Beadon's ejectment as appears from the following certificate given under the hands of the principal members of that congregation.

Mr. Peirce having suggested in his West. Inq. that Mr. Beadon's ejectment was procur'd or hastned by Mr. Walrond.

WE do unanimously attest; That his ejectment was intirely our own act, and not in the least advised or persuaded by him or any minister whatsoever; and we do farther testify, That at the request of Mr. Ball and Mr. Walrond, his ejectment was delay'd for some considerable time, that they might confer with him; after which conference (without giving us their opinion) they left the case to us, to bring the decision of it to such an issue, as we in our consciences should judge right.

John Bending.

Samuel Leat.

William Leat.

Andrew Leat.

John Baylie.

Thomas Stocker.

John Pounce.

Thomas Seward.

Richard Baylie.

Roger Paver.

Henry Terleat.

Samuel Teed.

WHAT follows, does not affect the case: the thing to be prov'd is, That Mr. *Walrond* in his letter to Mr. Tong, should charge the ministers with *odious and blasphemous expressions* against the TRINITY. This is still as roundly deny'd, as it was at first in the assembly.

WE go on; Mr. Peirce sets himself to examine several particulars in the *Narrative*. In p. 93. he endeavours to clear *Exeter* from the blame of the quarrels at *London*; or rather to lay it upon those who wrote thither, and principally upon the *London ministers* themselves, who preach'd up the GODHEAD of CHRIST several months before August 1718. This he calls sounding an alarm; but 'tis certain, he pays no great respect to those *London ministers*, whom he takes to be most his friends, if he thinks that this began or had any influence into the divisions that follow'd. What he charges upon them, or upon Mr. *Ball's* and Mr. *Walrond's* letters is much more justly chargeable upon some Gentlemen's endeavouring to get such advices past at *London* as would have effectually screen'd Mr. *P.* and his party, and enabled them to go on infecting the people without fear of being dismiss'd.

MR. Peirce in his great modesty, supposes, That he who wrote the complaint to *London*, had no very distinct notion of what principles were properly Arian, tho' impartial judges will conclude he understands his religion and the opposite errors, as thoroughly as himself. He may quibble and shuffle as long as he pleases. Whether he be an *Arian*, or a follower of Dr. *Clark* or Mr. *Whiston*, the doctrine relating to the divinity of CHRIST, is for substance the same. Why is the name of *Arian* hateful, but because of the nature of the doctrine that goes under that name? And as long as the same doctrine is maintain'd, let the name be chang'd never so often, it will be to all serious minds as much the object of detestation and abhorrence as ever. Mr. *P.* says, He could make nothing but *Sabellianism* of the scheme he was bred up in; for him therefore to say, That the persons, (the writer of the

complaint to London, was displeas'd with) fell not in with the notions of either the Sabellians or Tritheists, is in effect to say, that they were departed from the commonly receiv'd doctrine, which with him is *Sabellianism*.

THE tragical account he gives, That they who use the name *Arian*, seem to have play'd their game as artfully as ever the heathen persecutors did against the primitive christians, is too ridiculous to deserve any confutation. Notwithstanding all the rage that he says has been stirr'd up against them, we dont hear that either he or his adherents have suffer'd so much as the loss of one hair of their heads. If he should now and then have heard a reproachful word from illiterate or rude people as he pass'd along the streets, it's no more than what dissenting ministers in *London* may hear every day. Is this such a grievous persecution, that the legislature should be call'd upon for redress? It's a sign he little knows what persecution is, and is ill prepar'd for the fiery trial, or else he would not make such a mighty matter of suffering a flout or insult for that which he takes to be the cause of truth.

Mr. Peirce, calls upon Mr. Walrond to prop-
pag. 94. duce evidences for the charge upon the Exeter min-
isters of countenancing these errors. Yet he is at
the pains of a pasted Postscript at the end of his book to dis-
charge him from it again, without any request or motion of
his, directly or indirectly, nor did he send him any such
intelligence; tho' he says, Mr. Walrond let him know af-
ter his papers were sent to the press, that he said nothing
of the Exeter ministers in the letter he wrote. And what
he imputes in the Postscript to the carelessness or disinge-
nuity of the writer of the Narrative, is without any ground.
It is a strange liberty Mr. P. has taken to abuse men,
when he cannot fasten a false story upon one, to lay it
upon another. The writer faithfully transcrib'd what
is set down in the Narrative. But whoever brought
that charge against the Exeter ministers, it shall now
be fully justify'd.

1st. THAT the ministers of Exeter did countenance these errors, Mr. Peirce himself shall be our first evidence, West. Inq. p. 29. where he assures us, He thought it
agreed

agreed between him and his two brethren (on his own proposal) That neither of them should desire Mr. Atkins to preach any more for any of them, for no other reason that we can imagine, but because he had elaborately prov'd the proper Divinity of JESUS CHRIST in one of their pulpits; to which we may add, This agreement was presently made known to the friends of Mr. P. one of whom declaring, That they were promised by the ministers, that Mr. Atkins should preach no more, as appears by the following certificate.

SOME time after Mr. Henry Atkins preach'd the sermon mention'd above (for which Mr. Peirce propos'd, that the other ministers should desire him no more to preach for either of them) he preach'd again at James's meeting-house; soon after which (I think the same day) Mr. Tho. Townsend, jun. inquir'd of me about that sermon, and added, We were promis'd he should preach no more. I then demanded, Who promis'd them? He reply'd, The ministers.

Witness my hand,

Aaron Tozer.

AND is it not amazing to any christians that shall hear of it, that it should admit of a debate among the ministers, Whether one of their brethren for preaching up the Deity of CHRIST, should be shut out of their pulpits?

2dly, ONE of them ordering the clerk to lay aside all *Doxologies*; and another of them directing the Clerk not to use any, in which the Equality of the Divine Persons was asserted; and declaring in the presence of several citizens, that we had no warrant from the word of GOD for the *Doxologies* desir'd.

3dly, IF Mr. Hallet's testimony will avail any thing with Mr. Peirce, he assur'd Mr. Pitts, May 1718. (when he told Mr. Hallet of the uneasiness of the citizens about the growth of *Arianism*) THAT ALL THIS WAS OWING TO MR. PEIRCE.

4thly, WHEN Mr. Hallet desir'd Mr. Walrond's assistance in recommending his son to the people of Shobrook, and Mr. Walrond, asking him, Whether his son was free from the Arian notions? He reply'd, *A certain man whom I need not name* (plainly intimating Mr. P.) *had indeed drawn him aside into some odd notions, but I have got him off again, and he is now very free.*

5thly, MR. Hallet's recommending Whiston to his pupils, as appears by Mr. Westcot's certificate.

6thly, THE people could not but interpret the ministers continual silence to be a countenancing these errors, which they knew were then propagating in their own congregations, and their not discouraging, as far as can be learn'd, (for at least a twelve month before their ejection) the error itself in publick or private; nor giving the least caution against such pernicious Pamphlets, as the *Innocent Vindicated*, the *Letter to the Dissenter*, and the *Answer to Mr. Trost's Catechism*, all which were handed about very industriously. And tho' Mr. P. in his sermon on a Fast-day, being the 27th of August 1718, (before it was brought into the assembly) took occasion to speak of the debates, controversies, strifes, contentions and divisions among us, which are his own words; yet he was so very tender and favourable upon the error (which was the occasion of all) as not to pass the least censure upon it, nor condemn the blasphemies then sounding in the streets.

7thly, THE people who held these notions, and were then, and still are, some of Mr. Peirce's chief intimates, declar'd, That their ministers were of the same opinions; and recommended others to them for satisfaction; which shows, that as the citizens fear'd, so these persons believ'd, the ministers were of their mind.

8thly, THO' Mr. Peirce knew Mr. Lucas, the Baptist minister was suspected of being in these notions, yet he propos'd to have him preach to the young men at the morning-lecture; whereas before, he shew'd great dislike to the Baptists. To which might be added,

Mr.

Mr P's declaring himself insulted by Mr. Ball, for offering in a sermon an argument to prove the Deity of CHRIST.

9thly, Mr. Hallet's altering his *Doxology* in his prayers, could not but be an encouragement to these persons : For whereas he was wont to ascribe, *All honour and glory to FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST*; he for a long time left out the word *All*; and when he had express'd himself as usual, and ascrib'd *all* honour and glory to FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, he call'd it back in the face of the congregation, as tho' he had ascrib'd too much to the SON and HOLY GHOST; and after these notions spread, he took care after the ascribing all honour and glory to FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, to add, *that is due*; and tho' in his *Reflections on the Citizens Defence*, p. 6. he says, *Sometimes I omitted the word due, and sometimes not*, he can't say, that he ever for thirty years together once added these words, *that is due*, till this error broke out; and 'tis a poor and silly shift to say, He did it in conformity to Mr. Lavington, to avoid censure; for he never had been censur'd had he not alter'd his own method of ascribing glory to FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, after thirty or forty years use : And the citizens think the same of his leaving out the word GOD (in his pronouncing the blessing) in that article, the communion of the HOLY GHOST, which he also used.

10thly, It can't but be thought that Mr. Hallet gave great countenance to these errors in the sermon he preach'd at the morning lecture the 27th of November 1718, when he took occasion to mention the new scheme, speaking doubtfully, whether it was an error or not; but if it was, he said, *it was not a fundamental one*. The reader is desir'd, to take notice it was in this sermon Mr. Hallet censur'd those that made a stand in defence of the Truth, &c. And it was on the preaching of this sermon, that that gentleman to whom Mr. Hallet gives so just a character (in his *Reflection on his Defence*, p. 23.) sent a messenger to him, and shew'd his dislike by taking away his son that lay, who was till then a pupil with Mr. Hallet; tho' Mr. Hallet relates to the world a formal story of his preaching

the

the *Christmas-day* after on the 1 *John* iv. 9. in which he had preach'd against the *Arian* notion and read part of the sermon to the messenger, and now publishes it to the world; and after the quotation expostulates, What is there in all this, that should call for such dishonourable treatment as he met with? Whereas the gentleman took away his son four weeks before, for the sermon preach'd as above, *viz.* the 27th of November 1718. But as he hath publish'd part of the sermon preach'd the *Christmas-day*, 1719. Some persons would have thank'd him if he had let the world know his gloss upon the first of *John* and first verse; because some suggest Mr. *Hallet* should say (on mentioning that text) to this purpose, *That he was not the same God with whom he was.* And at that or another time, when he mention'd *John* iii. 13, he took notice that some did urge, that it shoudl be interpreted *was in Heaven*, without offering any thing to confute the notion.

Mr. P. talks much of an *assum'd autho-*
 pag. 95. *rity*, but gives no proof of any that was
 exercized. It might reasonably be presum'd
 that the city and country round about were not so
 universally corrupted, nor would so tamely give up
 their christian faith, but that if they had known
 Mr. P's real sentiments, and theirs of his party, they
 would soon have discover'd a just resentment. But the
 ministers, who were fearful of this, rather chose to
 try first, what effect silence and patience, candour and
 tenderness would have. This was the result of a
 meeting of several ministers, in which neither Mr.
Peirce, nor any other suppos'd to be in the new scheme,
 were concern'd; who so agreed as the *Narrative* re-
 lates, which was many months before the *assembly* of
September 1718, as Mr. *Walrend* avers: in a great part
 of which time they proceeded according to that reso-
 lution, till they found a necessity of acting more pub-
 licly. This shows how groundless Mr. *Peirce*'s insult-
 ing language is about agreements, in which no body
 ever said he had any concern. And as to the min-
 isters concern'd in this agreement, if they were to blame
 in any thing it was in being silent so long, and in
 show-

Showing a more tender regard for some that lay in wait to deceive than they ought. But since they have openly appear'd in defence of truth, their influence, by means of the Truth they have espous'd, is much greater, both in city and country (without any assum'd authority) than Mr. Peirce expected or desired.

Mr. Peirce declares, he believes it to be a downright falsehood, that any of their people should tell others, that the ministers were of their mind. That the people in the new notions did thus boast, is evident from the following certificates.

THIS is to certify all persons whom it may concern, That Mr. John Spiring upon the Thursday morning (before Mr. Henry Atkins preach'd that sermon mention'd in Mr. Peirce's West. Inq.) invited me to his house, and then discoursing with him of these new notions, I ask'd him, If the ministers held these notions? To which he reply'd, Most of the ministers of the city did.

Witness my hand,
Jan. 19, 1719.

George Jewell,

BEING at Mr. Townsend's in May 1718, a little after Mr. Henry Atkins had preach'd a sermon upon Emanuel, in which it appears, he inveighed somewhat smartly against Arianism; Mrs. Townsend as much decry'd his sermon, telling me, he had kindled a fire in the city which would not be easily quench'd, I commend'd his courage, she told me Mr. Peirce was not of my mind; and wondred to hear me vindicate Mr. Atkins. I ask'd her, What Mr. Peirce's opinion was? She answer'd me, That there was a subordination in the SON to the FATHER. I told her I was of the same opinion, and knew none that deny'd it. But ask'd her this Question, Doth Mr. Peirce say that there is a subordination as GOD? she told me, Yes, as GOD. My reply was, tell Mr. Peirce from me, That he hath two Gods a great one and a little one.

Aaron Pitts.

M R.

M R. Peirce mentions several things as signs
 Pag. 96. of the refinedness of the age, which he calls ge-
 norous principles. Such as, That the Scriptures
are the only rule of our faith; that nothing can be re-
quired as necessary to be believed in order to salvation,
that is not plainly revealed in them; and that no man has
a right to impose upon another's conscience, or persecute
him for differing from him. Who is there that denies
 the truth of these principles? Does he not slander the dis-
 senters, if he charges any body of them as embracing a
 scheme that is a stranger to such generous principles? possibly
 he and they may differ in explaining some of
 them. Who must judge what is plainly reveal'd in the
 holy Scriptures? If any man's thinking or saying a do-
 ctrine is not plainly reveal'd, be a sufficient evidence
 that it is not so, there will be little or nothing necessa-
 ry to be believ'd in order to salvation. For the grossest
 hereticks in the world will tell you, That the doctrines
 they reject are not plainly reveal'd, and will often pretend
 Scripture for their opposite errors. As we know of none
 among the dissenters, that pretend a right to impose upon
 another's conscience; so on the other hand, we know of
 no right that persons have for the sake of worldly emo-
 luments and advantages to subscribe one thing, and be-
 lieve and publish another. If men will call these ge-
 norous principles, and principles of christian liberty; we
 fear they are such as will lay the conscience waste, and
 tend to destroy moral honesty and integrity among men.
 They had much better sustain the loss of their places,
 (which they unjustly call persecution) than thus make
 bold with G o d and conscience. Mr. P. makes a jest
 of that expression, *as if it would be the glory of noncon-*
formity to end in Arianism; but he should remember,
 'tis not the name but the thing they trembled at the
 thoughts of. They that know the pernicious nature and
 tendency of that doctrine, cannot but be affected at
 the apprehension of its over-running the churches of
C H I S T, especially among protestant dissenters. Tho'
 it may be the glory of any cause, to end *in the discovery*
of Truth; yet it will be long before Mr. P. will be able
 to prove, That in case Nonconformity should end in
Arianism, it will end in the discovery of Truth. He
 seems

seems fōrd of drawing a comparison between *Popery* and the *Reformation* on the one hand, and the *old and new scheme* on the other: But he must prove, That the common faith of christians has as little foundation in the Scriptures as *Popery*, and that the establishment of *Arianism* among us would be as great a reformation as that from *Popery*; and then we shall have reason to desire it, and to bieſs G o d for it: But till then, we hope we may be admitted to enjoy our old Christianity, and do what we can to defend it.

MR. Peirce does not deny this part of the *Narrative*, viz. That the party gave out, That pag. 97.
a great, if not the greater part of the LONDON
ministers had given into the same opinion, and would in a
little time declare themselves. But then he pretends, That
for a man to assert the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and
to speak against the making any thing but the Bible a test of
a man's faith, was esteem'd by many a certain sign of his be-
ing an Arian. Who these *many* are, we know not. Such
general charges without naming any particular persons,
only prove the calumniating temper and spirit of their
author. If by the *many*, he intends to include the
subscribing ministers in city and country, its a charge
he can never make good against them. They believe
the sufficiency of the Scriptures as much as their
brethren; but yet think it necessary upon proper occasions
to make use of other than scripture words as a test or
testimony of their faith, and how they understand the
Scriptures. They can't but think those who deny this,
to be in an error; yet not of such a nature as amounts
*to the charge of *Arianism*.* *Arians*, with others, run
into this error; but 'tis no peculiar principle by which
this heresy is distinguish'd from others. We are sorry a
great part of the London ministers should have done that,
for which Mr. P, and his followers do so much bless
G o d. They who really dislike his notions, as much as
the subscribing ministers, would do well seriously to con-
sider, Whether that can be for the honour of C H R I S T,
the service of Truth, or for their own comfort and satis-
faction, which these men rejoice so much in; espe-
cially when from what they have done, Mr. P. would
infer their agreement with him in the notion of a sub-

ordination. He says, I am persuaded that much the greater part if they do not contend for a subordination, yet esteem not those to be hereticks that do. We would be glad to know, how he came by this persuasion, what grounds he has for it, and whether by a subordination, he means one of the same kind he contends for: a subordination in CHRIST's divine nature, and not merely in relation and office? If not, how are he and they agreed? If he does, 'tis a vile calumny upon those who are not gone from the doctrine; a calumny which they ought publickly to resent and disown, and are more oblig'd to it since the account he has given of his being so kindly treated by the non-subscribers, when last in London. He says in his book, *The Security of Truth*, &c. pag. 101. "I was ask'd by several to preach for them,..... I convers'd freely with them, and that upon the controversy: I could not perceive any the least shyness in them. 'Tis true, they many of them (he does not say all) declar'd themselves to be of a contrary opinion concerning the TRINITY, but not one of them appear'd to have the least difficulty in holding communion with me; but they all, as far as I could find, were unanimous against disowning one another upon the account of this difference, nor did I meet with so much as one of them that did not condemn as well as bewail the Exeter proceedings. I am sure some of them did it heartily, and I can truly say, I know not that I met with more respect, and fuller proofs of it in any London journey I have taken since I have been in this country; I am sure I return'd entirely satisfy'd that my conduct had not lost me near so many valuable friends as it had gain'd me. Mr. Enty's informers could not be suppos'd witnesses of that conversation, without the knowledge of which, their information must be a grand impertinence, not worthy to be related by any man of sense and conscience; and I defy Mr. Enty to name so much as one of the non-subscribing ministers, who express'd such a disregard as he would here insinuate."

If this be a true account, we leave it to the world to judge, Whether the difference between the London ministers be a mere prudential about subscribing or non-subscribing.

Mr. Peirce goes on to take notice of what the Narrative lays, That some of the younger pag. 97. and meaner of the people had taken the liberty to treat some parts of the holy Scripture very irreverently. This says he, was maliciously enough express'd, if hereby no more is meant, than that they declar'd their opinion, that that text 1 John v. 7. was not genuine.

To this censure it is now answer'd, That besides their declaration with respect to that text 1 John v. 7. mention'd in some other certificates, the reader is desir'd to take notice of the several texts of Scripture mention'd in these following.

WE, whose names are under-written, were present at the debate between Mr. Beadon and his people about November last; and among other things (which we heard from him that the people objected to) we heard him particularly assert, That if they built on our present translation of the Bible, they would build on a sandy foundation.

Witness our hands,
Nov. 30. 1719.

Isaac Simonds,
Samuel Hart.

Exon, Nov. 12. 1719.

THIS is to certify all persons, whom it may concern, That I Elizabeth Marks having heard that Mrs. Halse should have said, That the Devil put in that place of Scripture, Who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God; meeting with the said Mrs. Halse, I said to her, What, did you say, that the Devil put in that place of Scripture? She reply'd, He did. And repeated it several times.

Elizabeth Marks.

THIS is to certify all persons, whom it may concern, That I, John Small, having heard of Mrs. Halse's speaking so irreverently of the sacred Scriptures, as to say, That that expression (Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God;) was put in by the Devil; I was griev'd to hear it, and discours'd

Mrs. Lavington about it, who sent for the said, Mrs. Halse, and ask'd her, Whether she said, that the Devil put in that place of Scripture? Mrs. Halse readily own'd, that she said it; and being ask'd, Who told her so? She reply'd, One that could tell. And when she own'd this, there were seven or eight persons present, and it was some time before the ejection of Mr. Peirce and Mr. Hallet.

Witness my hand, Dec. 15. 1719.

John Small.

THIS is to certify, That a person of this city having embrac'd the new notion (whose name I forbear to mention, only because of the great intimacy that hath been between him and myself) on the mentioning of Zachariah xiii. 7. to prove the Equality of the SON of GOD to the FATHER. The said person reply'd to this purpose, It was damnably translated.

Witness my hand, Jan. 14. 1719.

Hugh Jenkin.

Mrs. Dorothy Lavington being in company with Mr. Peirce since his ejection, complain'd of Mrs. Halse's saying, That the Devil had put in that place as mentioned in the above certificate. Mr. Peirce reply'd, It was very foolish. Foolish! Sir, said Mrs. Lavington, it was very wicked. But all the censure she could get him to pass upon it, was, That it was very foolish.

THE complaint in the Narrative, That pag. 98. there was a very visible decay of serious and practical religion among those who are gone into the new scheme, Mr. Peirce would turn upon those who kept to their old path. But 'tis very evident from the certificates produc'd, that his party in speaking of these tremendous Mysteries, discover a very light and vain, nay, we cannot but say, a very profane and wicked spirit. Having griev'd the spirit by slighting and dishonouring him in his nature and office, no wonder if he has left 'em to themselves, that having made shipwreck of their Faith, they should lose a good Conscience too. It cannot be expected that he will vouchsafe his quickning

quickning and sanctifying influences to those who deny him the glory of his GODHEAD. Upon the withdrawalment of these, whatever Mr. P. may think, there will follow a visible decay of practical religion. Heresy and immorality usually go together.

To follow the Author of the *West. Inq.*
pag. 98. He represents what the Narrative had said of
99. laymens talking and disputing about these no-
tions in many odious and blasphemous Phrases,
&c. as so many lies and slanders, and that little stress
was to be laid upon them.
THAT there was sufficient ground for this charge
will appear by the following certificates.

ABOUT two years since I happened to be at the house of Mr. Caleb Hodge, when I took an Opportunity to ask, Whether that by the LORD JEHOVAH we were not to understand FATHER, SON and SPIRIT three glorious Persons and but one eternal GOD? To which Mr. Hodge reply'd, that if we understood it so, we made three GOD's; no said I, we don't make three GOD's, for we allow but one GOD consisting of three glorious Persons. I referr'd him to John 10 and 30. I and my Father are one; to which he reply'd, so a man and his wife were one. Then I mention'd to him the 1st. of John v. 7. to which he answer'd, that it was not in the Original. I brought him several texts both from the Old and New-Testament to prove the Deity of CHRIST, but could get no other answer from him but this, That he was no other but a Mediator: And to back this, he brought the words of the apostle, that there was one GOD and one Mediator between GOD and man, &c. Whence he observ'd, that if he was God how could he be a Mediator between GOD and man? He must then mediate to himself, and referr'd me and my wife (who was present) to our ministers for satisfaction.

Mr. Spiring was sometime (before the ejection) at my house where (as we were in discourse) he said, He had rather embrace the doctrine of transubstantiation than the doctrine of the TRINITY in Unity, saying that he did abominate the doctrine.

John Blamhard.

THIS is to certify, That, I John Churchill discoursing with Mr. Spiring about a Sermon which Mr. Larkham preach'd, wherein he asserted CHRIST to have the fulness of the GODHEAD in him, and to be GOD equal with the FATHER, He said it was false doctrine, and but little less than blasphemy, and came to me four or five days following and would not let me be quiet, till I had told Mr. Larkham from him, that it was false Doctrine.

WHEN I endeavour'd to prove from Scripture that CHRIST was GOD, He reply'd, So the Devil was fall'n GOD. And when I mention'd to him for proof of the Deity of CHRIST these words, We are in him that is true, even in his SON JESUS CHRIST, this is the true GOD and eternal LIFE. He said, He would undertake to prove to a demonstration, that it was not meant of JESUS CHRIST. This was about two years since.

Witness my hand
Novemb. 23, 1719.

John Churchill,

THIS is to certify all Persons, whom it may concern, that I Robert Heath, meeting with Mr. Spiring about December 1717. at a neighbours house, we fell into a discourse of these notions that were then broach'd in this city. He demanded of me, What GOD was? I answer'd him in the words of the fourth answer of the Assemblies Catechism. Then he ask'd me how many Gods there were? I answer'd in the words of the 5th. and 6th. answers of the Assembly's Catechism: And I said, if ever any men since the apostles days had the Spirit of GOD, I believed they had, He reply'd they were good men, but they were mistaken, and could not prove what they said? And he wou'd prove the contrary. After some discourse I urg'd, that CHRIST was GOD. He said, there were many Gods, and many Lords, the Devil was a God. I brought several places to prove the Deity of CHRIST particularly that of 1 John v. 7. He reply'd, That was not Scripture, I urg'd the 2d. of Philippians v. 6. He reply'd, That was mis-translated; It was, that

that he would not catch at an equality with GOD; and said, that GOD will judge the world by the Man CHRIST JESUS: There is for you. To which I said, ay, by the GOD-MAN CHRIST JESUS, who will then manifest his GODHEAD; he will then manifest his Omnipotency in raising all the dead out of their graves, that have lain there ever since the fall of Adam.

Novemb. 16 1719. Robert Heath.

WE whose names are underwritten do certify, That we heard William Goswell, Jun. say, We hope to propagate the Gospel in other nations. Now what a silly thing will it be, to tell them of three Persons and one GOD.

Richard Fuge.
Elizabeth Fuge.

To go on, Mr. Peirce comes to consider some blasphemous expressions, which had been charg'd on some of his friends, which to the astonishment of the reader, he excuses in a light and ludicrous manner: And yet the proof is most express and positive against them; as appears by the following certificates.

WE whose names are underwritten do certify That we heard William Goswell Jun. say, That JESUS CHRIST is GOD, no otherwise than as King George, or a magistrate of a city.

Richard Fuge.
Elizabeth Fuge.

The Reverend Mr. Sandercock in the assembly September 1718, urg'd as a reason for their declaration at that time, That one of the city had deliver'd himself to him in an expression of the same import with what is inserted in the foregoing certificate.

THIS

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That I, John Scutt, did hear Mr. John Spiring say, That **C H R I S T** was an inferior **G O D**.

Witness my hand, John Scutt.

THIS is to certify, all persons whom it may concern; That Mr. John Spiring did say to me, He could shew me two texts of Scripture to prove **C H R I S T** a creature, that would make me tremble.

Witness, Bridget Luke.

Mr. Spiring did say the above words to Mrs. Luke in my presence.

Witness my hand, Elizabeth Thomas.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That when I charg'd Mr. Spiring, that some should say, **O U R L O R D J E S U S** is but a mere creature. He reply'd, I don't say so; but I believe it is no sin in them that do say so.

Dorothy Lavington.

AND at another time the said Mr. Spiring said words to the same import to another person; as appears by the following certificate.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That discoursing with Mr. John Spiring, of some persons that should say, **C H R I S T** is but a creature. Mr. Spiring reply'd, I won't say, **C H R I S T** is a creature; but I believe it is no sin for any one to say so.

Witness my hand, Jan. 25. 1719. Dorothy Wreyford.

As to the blasphemous expressions against the **H O L Y G H O S T** charg'd on several of his communicants, he says,

says; this he answer'd in his Defence, p. 32. In that answer, he would insinuate; That it was a charge only against one, and that person deny'd it. So that Mr. Peirce's positive assertion must pass with the world for an answer against positive proof.

AND here, he suggests, That a person pag. 99. might say, the HOLY GHOST is never call'd GOD in Scripture. And then says, The improvement of such an innocent and true expression was very easy to be made by a sort of men, who stuck not much at such things. And then adds, That the person charg'd with this, denies, that ever he said, what he is taxed with.

THE reader can't but see what an injurious charge Mr. Peirce here exhibits. And that it is without foundation, fully appears by the following certificates.

THIS is to certify, all persons whom it may concern, That I Richard Holditch, did hear Mr. Tho. Townsend, jun. say these blasphemous words in the publick Coffee-house: I'LL PROVE FROM THE WORD OF GOD, THAT THE HOLY GHOST IS NOT GOD. This was several months before the ejection of Mr. Peirce and Mr. Hallet.

Witness my hand, Nov. 14. 1719. Richard Holditch.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That I, James Barons, did hear a gentlewoman (in communion with Mr. Peirce and Mr. Hallet) say, That the HOLY GHOST was not GOD at all.

James Barons.

THESSE are to certify, all whom it may concern, That I heard Richard Berry say, He did not believe the HOLY GHOST to be GOD at all. And tho' he hath since deny'd it, and said, He only ask'd me to prove the HOLY GHOST to be GOD. I positively declare, and am ready to take my oath of it, That he did expressly deny him to be GOD. The occasion of his speaking the Words was as follows. He was remov'd from Exeter to Topham,

and being willing to receive the LORD's Supper in that place, desir'd of me a line or two. I told him, He had been so busy in spreading erroneous pamphlets and making disturbances among us, that I could not in conscience recommend him to another society. He told me, If he was in an error, he shou'd be willing to be convinc'd of it. I reply'd, If he would sit down, I would be very ready to discourse with him upon that subject; which accordingly I did; and told him, CHRIST was to be look'd upon as the SON of GOD on a twofold account, viz. as to his eternal, and as to his temporal Generation. I show'd him how this latter sense remov'd many difficulties with respect to the subordination he contended for. Upon this, he told me, He had read the Bible once and again upon their scheme, and now he would go home and read it upon mine. All this while, we had not any mention of the HOLY GHOST; but when he was come to the door, he said of his own accord, and without any previous discourse of mine, As to the HOLY GHOST, Sir, I love to be open and plain, and therefore tell you, I do not believe him to be GOD at all. To which, I reply'd; Well, and can you expect that after such a declaration as this I should recommend you to any christian society? To which he answer'd, If you will not, I must do as I did before. And so we parted.

John Lavington.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That I Stephen Tremlet did hear Mr. John Spirine assert, That the HOLY GHOST was not GOD.

Witnesſ my hand,
Exon, Nov. 9. 1719.

Stephen Tremlet.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That Mrs. Halsie at the morning-lecture (before ever we came out of the meeting-house, without any previous discourse) demanded of me, Where I could prove, in the Scripture, that the HOLY GHOST was GOD?

Witnesſ my hand, Eliz. Marks.

THESE

THESE persons charg'd in the five certificates foregoing, are now communicants with Mr. Peirce.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That we whose names are under-written, did bear Mrs. Mary Powel say, O fy! You must not say, the HOLY GHOST is GOD.

Exon. Nov. 9. 1719.

Alexander Bennet,
Stephen Tremlet.

WHAT the Narrative says of the common peoples having such arguments put into their mouths as must necessarily come from men of learning, Mr. P. would turn into a sign of their having study'd the matter diligently; but it was rather an evidence they were instructed in secret by those, who at that time were afraid to appear more openly. The common people were their mouth to utter and propagate those notions, which for politic ends, they durst not then in their own names preach or print. However this might be, it was an undeniable evidence of the spreading of those errors among them, and might justly increase an uneasiness about the faith of their ministers; especially when they did nothing to confute, or so much as disown them, by which their hearers might be establish'd in the common doctrine. This abundantly justifies the body of the people in the course they took for their own preservation. It does not appear, but that they who adher'd to the ancient faith, were as well furnish'd as those on the other side; tho' they did not owe any of their furniture to Mr. P. who would have thought himself bound by his office to assist them, if he had not been infected himself. His refusing to do it, was a just ground of his dismission. If Mr. P. thinks that every private christian has a call, and is qualify'd to read the most poisonous books of subtle and crafty hereticks, we are far from being of his mind. Heretical books and company, are as dangerous and infectious as those that are vicious and immoral, and we ought to be sure of our call before we venture, and when conversant should be very humble and modest, sensible of our danger,

ger, watchful and prayerful, or else God may justly leave us to ourselves, to take in the infection as a punishment to our pride and self-confidence.

Mr. Peirce mentions the case of a *dying person of the church*. This, tho' plac'd here, was at the latter end of 1716, as may be seen by Mr. Lavington's certificate in answer to what Mr. P. says, pag. 13.

BUT however, as to this case, which he makes light of, and intimates, that the cause of his trouble might be his *immorality*, we never heard of any immorality laid to his charge, that might be the cause of the horror of his mind; but his uneasiness was with respect to these notions: nor can it be a wonder that any person apprehending himself just ready to appear before that Glorious Person, whom upon slight and insufficient grounds, he had been led to think meanly of, should be under horror of conscience about it. However, these horrors are not made a standard of any doctrine, as Mr. P. suggests.

It is amazing to observe with what an air
 pag. 101. Mr. Peirce is pleas'd to speak, p. 101. where
 he represents the relations given, as a parcel
 of *pitiful things*; but with his leave, they will not be
 thought so by the serious part of mankind. When he
 can talk thus lightly of them himself, 'tis no wonder
 to find his followers imitating their leader. The spirit
 this betrays, can no way turn to his honour, as being
 unsuitable to the character of a minister or a christian.
 And tho' he will have it both here and p. 92. That
 at the time when these accounts were sent, viz. August
 1718, they were in much quiet on both sides. It is suf-
 ficiently evident from the remarks that have been
 made on pag. 65, and 68, that the city was far from
 being at rest about these matters, but instead of that,
 people were in great concern and anguish. However,
 this representation of his is not to be wonder'd at,
 since, as we have before shewn, he has in so many
 places confidently affirm'd that which was directly
 false, which happens here also to be the very case;
 for in the close of his own sermon, preach'd on a fast-
 day that very month, on Job xxxiv. 32. he said, He
 might apply this to the nation in general; he might
 apply

apply it with respect to the calamities that lie upon us in common with those of our persuasion throughout the nation; but added, he chose to bring this nearer to *ourselves* in particular, and then hath these expressions: 'Tis very possible for persons to have their consciences clear, and to be perfectly innocent with reference to the particular *debates, controversies and strifes*, that are rais'd; and yet at the same time by their other sins, to have had a hand in provoking GOD to let loose a spirit of *contention* and *division* amongst us. How then could Mr. Peirce say, that we were quiet on both sides at that time?

WE must now follow him in his *Remarks on the Proceedings of the assembly 1718.* which begins p. 83. We think it necessary to inform the world of the several following mistakes and misrepresentations therein. We are charg'd, p. 85, with *rude interruptions*, with *reflections* and *menaces*. We know of no rude language used to any of the brethren, much less of any menaces. If Mr. Peirce under *menaces*, includes Mr. Colton's case, mention'd, p. 106. This is the truth of that affair: Mr. Colton refusing to make a declaration of his faith, Mr. Edgley told Mr. Ball, That Mr. Colton believed as he and others did: Mr. Ball then reply'd to Mr. Edgley, Pray step to Mr. Colton and ask him, *Whether he has a mind to ruin himself?* intending by that expression no more than this, That Mr. Colton's refusing to declare his faith might make his congregation very uneasy, which he found afterwards to be true, tho' no one minister had any hand in influencing any of his people; neither do we know of any interruptions, but what commonly happen on both sides in such numerous assemblies. He has given many indefinite charges without naming the persons; which is complain'd of by himself as unfair in others, and therefore cannot be otherwise in him.

HE says, *The Question was stated, Whether the holy Scriptures are a sufficient rule of faith pag 101. without human additions or interpretations?* We deny that this was the Question, but only an evasive

evasive one, thrown in to divert the main Question, which the scribe appear'd unwilling to offer to the vote.

AND whereas 'tis said, *It was many times desir'd to be put to the vote; Shall a declaration in words of Scripture be accepted as orthodox?* It was offer'd by Mr. Scribe, and immediately quash'd, as a mere banter: and doubtless was so design'd when first offer'd, as well as now from the press, as a way of speaking un-faithful to assemblies of ministers.

WHAT Mr. Peirce adds, seems as tho' it immediately follow'd, whereas it was offer'd at the end of the debate had no connexion with the above-mention'd Question, which was towards the beginning of it, and that now none of our body but chearfully own the Scriptures to be a sufficient, and the only rule of faith; for men have found out so many ways to wrest the Scripture, and put such strange interpretations upon the words and phrases of it, that a Papist, Arian, or Socinian, cannot by mere words of Scripture be distinguish'd or known from a sound Christian. And therefore the assembly thought it needful to explain themselves about the great matters of their faith, leaving others to do as they thought fit.

WHEREAS he says, That the Scribe was pag. 111, three times forbidden to write, we assert That he was never forbidden to write any thing that appear'd to be, the determination of the assembly that he should write.

COMPLAINT is made, that some mov'd, pag. 102. that seeing people waited at the door of the meeting place, the assembly should be adjourn'd but could not obtain it. The reason was because we were then upon the vote, which was to conclude the affair, which we had good reason to believe that motion was design'd to prevent.

MR. Hallet has brought a Quotation of pag. 104. Mr. Baxter's into his scriptural confession, but would not be well pleased with what he says a little lower in the same preface about the magistrates

gistrates restraining such as speak against fundamentals and evident truths, while yet they subscribe the Scripture misunderstood; or such as openly contradict what they subscribe, which restraint of Authority, he hopes God will one day bring into use. Nor would he relish Mr. Baxter's sentence pronounc'd on such as deny the Deity of CHRIST, that they are no christians. Abridg. Hist. Counc. pag. 48. To which may be added a very remarkable passage of the same author in his Preface to the unreasonableness of Infidelity, that seems to bear but too much resemblance to the present time. Speaking of some that went from one notion to another into infidelity at last; he says, " When I consider'd how many of them were once my intimate friends, whom I cannot yet choose but love with compassion; when I remember our former converse and familiarity; and some of them were ancient professors, who have done and suffer'd much in a better cause; and whose uprightness we were all as confident of, as most mens living on earth: All this did make the case more grievous to me. Yet I must needs say, that the most that I have known to fall thus far, were such as were formerly so proud, or sensual, or giddy professors, that they seem'd then but to stay for a shaking temptation to lay 'em in the dirt; and those of better qualifications, of whose sincerity we were so confident, were very few. " If this passage cannot justly be apply'd to the ministers; yet let many of their people look to it and take warning.

AND whereas Mr. Peirce affirms, That
 pag. 107. Mr. Lavington, should say, *We have bound or tied down the two counties.* Mr. Lavington absolutely denies the charge and says, That that which gave occasion to this mistake was a conference between him and Mr. Peirce; for when Mr. Peirce was so warmly opposing our making a declaration of our faith, Mr. Lavington told him, we did not oblige any to make it, but only crav'd the liberty ourselves to do it: To which Mr. Peirce reply'd, If you will make a declaration, make it in another place; But why must you make it here? To this Mr. Lavington

~~for answer'd~~, We would make it here, that the report of it might spread into other counties. And this was the expression which two persons, who were in the extreme parts of the assembly, so grossly misrepresented. And since this discourse was in the heart of the assembly, and with Mr. Peirce himself; Mr. Livingston appeals to Mr. Peirce, Whether he heard him use any such expression as of binding the two Counties, or no?

We whose names are under-written undertake to vindicate the truth of the foresaid account.

John Ball.
Henry Atkins:
Josiah Eveleigh:
John Walrond.

MR. Peirce takes notice of a remark in pag. 107, the Narrative, p. 16. which is in these words.
108. It was observ'd, that all the elder ministers to a very few, were zealous in their votes and speeches for the common faith; so that the weight, as well as number, went that way. To this he says, "That if the number of voters, or the number of their years, could add any weight to any controversy about a matter of Truth, there can be no farther dispute in our county. But truth if I mistake not, is to be tried another way; &c." To this it is reply'd, That tho' the truth of any doctrine is not to be tried by the Number of votes; yet when persons are abundantly satisfied in their minds what is the truth, and are establish'd in it, it must be a great comfort to them, to find that in degenerate and shaking times, the generality are not departed from it, and that the most aged and experienc'd of CHRIST's ministers remain firm to it. The judgment of a few such, who have had the longest time to study his will, and have been most honour'd by him in their ministerial work, (whatever Mr. P. may think) is more to be regarded than of a multitude of conceited young men, who are far from equalling

equalling them in years, and yet farther from equalling them in wisdom, experience, learning, or holiness.

pag. 109. Mr. Peirce, speaking of Mr. Huddy, says,
*All that know the brave spirit and good sense
of the preacher, &c. Its not wonder'd at now, that
Mr. P. gives him such a character, since he has dis-
cover'd himself to be in the notion with him and the
rest of the bright men, particularly a. Kingske swell, as ap-
pears by the following certificate.*

Jan. 30. 1719.

THES E are to certify. That Mr. Huddy preach'd at our meeting about May last, and in a discourse with many of us after sermon caution'd us, not to give too much honour to the S O N.

Samuel Codnor;
Witness our hands. Edward Whiteway,
Richard Colliton.

pag. 110. Mr. Peirce, in his deriding way, intimates as if the two sermons the *Narrative* mentions had no more influence upon the ferment that follow'd in the city, than the *Sun's rising*. But whoever reads them will find that this is a great mistake. He and his party no doubt were well pleas'd with them; for the plain design and drift of the preachers, instead of appearing for the great Truth then struck at, was to screen the enemies of it, and to discourage others in their endeavours to hinder the pernicious influence of their errors. What wonder is it if discourses calculated for such a purpose, should cause a ferment among those who had any concern or zeal for preserving the Truth. And if for this, and the like reasons, the assembly refus'd to thank Mr. Huddy for his sermon, the world 'tis believ'd will justify them, except those, who happen to be in the same tentiments with the author of the discourse Mr. Peirce so much boasts of.

HAVING done with the affair of the assembly, he comes to the author of *The Account of the Reasons.*

Q

In

In his observations upon him, he says, *He never objected against mens expressing their own sense in their own words.* He is only against *imposing upon others as a test, words that are not Scripture.* Who is there, that so insist upon any particular words, but will acknowledge that the same Truth may be express'd in other words, that are to the same sense? But suppose, Mr. P. had given us his sense of all the great doctrines of the Gospel, as well as this particular one in his own words, and others should not only refuse to use his words, but should use others that carry in them a contrary sense, What would he do in this case? Because he and they can agree in using the bare words of Scripture, must they hold communion as fellow-christians, tho' it be evident from their own words that they are not agreed in the sense of any one Scripture doctrine? " This would make the christian church a heap of repugnant materials, * a monstrous confus'd assemblage of persons of opposite principles, without any bond of union or agreement in any thing but in letters, sounds, and words of no settled meaning." This is the exact description of the church Mr. P. desires to see; of which however he hath nothing like a model in the sacred Scriptures, which he pretends to have such a value for.

THO' Mr. Peirce repents of the declaration
 pag. 111. he made in the assembly, in complaisance to some of his friends; yet he spends thirty pages in a long digression, to shew, that others who are accounted orthodox, have asserted a subordination as well as himself. Does he in his conscience think they believ'd a subordination in the same sense that he does? If not; what does this tedious quotation of authors signify? They might be orthodox, and he in a grand error notwithstanding. If a few unconnected passages, may seem to come up to his sense of subordination; yet there being many others, that more fully express the sentiments of those authors, which are utterly inconsistent with his scheme; he ought in justice to give such

* Sir Rich. Blackmore's *Just Prejudices against Arian Hypothesis*, pag. 50.

such an interpretation of the more dark and doubtful passages, as would consist with their avow'd doctrine. But he in his great modesty represents the greatest men, of the last and present age for learning and piety, as inconsistent with themselves, whilst he admires and applauds himself for hi own consistency *. This is the sum total of that long digression and a sufficient answer to it.

Upon what he says p. 104. we shall only observe, that he should have prov'd and not have pag. 140. taken it for granted, that the apostle calls the FATHER the One GOD, and that our SAVIOUR calls him the on'y true GOD in *cont adistriction* to, and *exclusive* of himself, and not merely of false Gods, the Idols of the Gentiles. The scriptures do not contradict themselves. One place must be so intrepreted as to be consistent with another. Now we are assur'd our SAVIOUR is the True GOD, the Mighty GOD, the Great GOD, our Lord and GOD, and therefore the FATHER cannot be the One GOD, the only True GOD exclusive of the SON, unless there be more Gods than one contrary to the first article of all Religion.

In the same page, he takes notice, That the Account says pag 6. concerning the proceedings of the assembly. *This hath been cried out upon us as a Test, Imposition, Inquisition, &c.* Mr. Peirce has made and continues to make a grievous exclamation agaist the assembly as setting up an *Inquisition*. Whereas it is plain that they neither made nor impos'd any *test* wth on their brethren ; but without any compulsion every man freely made his own declaration or refus'd to make any, as he pleas'd ; as appears by the account of the assemblies proceedings, 1718. Neither did the assembly act any thing like the papists in their *Inquisition* as Mr. Peirce unjustly furnisces ; for here were no questions ask'd ; no account of their faith demanded ; but the ministers gave a voluntary confession of their own faith, in order to

*The opinion of many ancient Divines may be seen in a little pamphlet entitled, *A Caution against Deceivers*. The second Edition, printed at Exon.

deliver their own consciences, and purge their reputations without the least inquiry into the principles of other men. In what respect then could their proceedings have any tendency to advance a *popish* power, as they are unrighteously accus'd. *West. Inq.* pag. 142.

WHAT Mr. Peirce calls a *s spiteful suggestion*, viz. that *some ministers were departed from the faith*, is a plain and sad truth, which he and his party are daily making more and more evident; therefore the rest should express their agreement in the faith they thought it their duty to the utmost of their power to defend. He cannot deny, that these notions did spread among the common people, and were openly avow'd by them. The persons infected were generally great friends and admirers of him, and such ministers as were in his sentiments. He and his brethren instead of setting themselves to defend the Truth, and deliver their friends from the snare in which they were caught, added rather to their intanglements. What could the rest of the ministers in such a case do, who had any concern for the honour of CHRIST and the safety of souls, but endeavour by an open declaration and defence of their own faith to put a stop to this growing infection? If hereby the Reputation of such as were seducing the people was diminished, and they had less power or influence in doing mischief than before, it was a consequence they have no reason to be sorry for or ashamed of. Mr. P. almost in every page makes a mighty outcry about the advancing of *popish power* and the *Inquisition*, but as the complaint is ridiculous, so it is now as plain as the Sun that the infection oblig'd the *Orthodox* to do what they did, unless they chose to continue under a ministry, that would have poison'd them with errors of the most dangerous and destructive nature.

HE charges the person who publish'd a part of Mr. Tress's Catechism with *unfairness*, because he elsewhere declar'd for a *Subordination*, whereas 'tis plain Mr. Tress's opinion was quite

quite different from what Mr. Peirce declares for. All the priority he ascribes to the FATHER is only in point of order; as is plain from his notes under his own hand, where he says, that there is a Priority of order tho' not of time nor of dignity, much less of essence in the TRINITY of Persons. Nor can the publication of that part of his Catechism be unfair, because what was publish'd was taken from the Clerk's own book; who had it from Mr. Tross to transcribe, and then deliver'd it to the *Catechumens* to learn.

WHEREAS the Narrative had said the book still'd the *Innocent Vindicated* was thrust under shop-doors in the night. It shoul'd have been express'd, A printed paper recommending the innocent vindicated, as an answer to the arguments of Mr. Tross's *Catechism* with some remarks on some Passages in it. The editors of the *Narrative* gave the account as they receiv'd it, this mistake it seems was overlook'd when the *Narrative* was sent down to be examin'd before it was publish'd. But as this was an involuntary mistake, so it is of such little consequence that every one will be ready to excuse it, except Mr. Peirce whose eager temper, violently inclines him to lay hold of every minute circumstance. This paper was thrust under the doors of Captain Lydston, Mr. Samuel Munkley, and between the Shop windows of Mr. Aaron Tozer. Mr. Peirce in his letter to Mr. Eveleigh lays, he made inquiry but could not get intelligence of any such paper. We cannot account for it how this can be true, unless he takes advantage of Mr. Eveleigh's calling it a paper of two leaves whereas indeed it was but one leaf.

He is here very sharp upon the *Narrative* for showing respect to Mr. Eveleigh who well deserves it, tho' he and others be treated by Mr. P. in a manner the world must cry shame of. From his great care to magnify and applaud the performances of one that denies the infinite perfections of GOD to belong to CHRIST, and utterly renounces the Deity of the HOLY GHOST, any one may make a truer guess at Mr. Peirce's disposition and sentiments

pag. 144.

pag. 145.

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timents than Mr. Peirce can do at the *original author* of what he calls a *poor remark*, and in which 'tis believ'd he is intirely out. But if publishing *blasphemy* against the ever-blessed Redeemer and the *HOLY GHOST*, shall with Mr. P. go for a proof of a man's good sense and reputation, he is wrong in his notion and can gain no reputation to himself in defending it. Mr. Eveleigh answers for himself, That Mr. P. seems to think it a matter of some importance to some end he has in view, to represent him in this and other places as not a man of sense. He does not set up for one, and if Mr. P. makes so light of our *Lord and Saviour*, he takes it as an honour to be counted as nothing for his sake, and is sorry to see Mr. P. take so much pains to convince the world, what sort of sense he abounds in.

To proceed, Mr. Peirce reflects on the pag. 145, committee of thirteen, insinuating as tho' they 146. pretended to have authority. This has been already disclaim'd, and he had no reason to make such a disingenuous reflection. He says, He remembers not, that they were desir'd to let them know what they did believe of these matters. This can be look'd upon as no other than a shuffle of Mr. P's, and such as can't well be consistent with truth, because *West. Inq.* p. 147. he grants, that the committee intreated him and his brethren to give them satisfaction, &c. Could Mr. P. understand this any other way than a desire to know what they did believe of these matters? And who but one that had a mind to aggravate without cause, and to say any thing that might serve to blacken, could so palpably contradict himself as it were in the same breath?

pag. 147. AND Whereas Mr. Peirce signifies, He 148. was abus'd by being represented as the cause of this diversity of sentiments here. He may thank his own friends for their declaration of this, and particularly his Colleague Mr. Hallet, who declar'd all this was owing to Mr. P. as appears by the account given by Mr. Pitts, p. 51, 52.
AND tho' in the same page, Mr. Hallet is said, to deny

deny that ever he taught any of his pupils the principle they pretended he did ; or that he knew of their being among the students. Yet that he recommended the new scheme to them is plain from this certificate under the hand of one of them, now an approv'd minister.

THIS is to certify, all whom it may concern, That I have heard the reverend Mr. Jos. Hallet, sen. commend and speak in favour of Whiston's notion of the TRINITY, and that when Mr. Hallet came to read that chapter in Pictet's System: In quo probatur Christum esse verum Deum equalem Patri, he said, If he did prove that, he would prove all the rest.

Samuel Westcott.

MR. Peirce in this page very injuriously misrepresents Mr. Lavington as speaking of God in the pulpit as One Person, and yet in discourse with him, as Three Persons. What he said in the pulpit was in order to aggravate the heinous nature of sin, and he urg'd it from the consideration of the Person, against whom it was committed. A phrase very frequent with divines when they mean only, that the Person against whom sin strikes is GOD, whether it be FATHER, SON, or HOLY GHOST, and not that GOD is but one Person. So that this is a very poor and mean way of cavilling at small matters; and taking every little occasion, he can find or make, to misrepresent and abuse; which one would imagine should be too low for a man that aims so high, as to be the head of the refin'd party in the West.

IN his reply to the desire of the committee, That he and his brethren would give them satisfaction one of those three ways they propos'd. He wonders they should not have added a fourth, that is, or any other words, wherein they should rather choose to express themselves. No doubt if they had chosen other words that had as fully and strongly asserted the same doctrine, no objection would have been made against them; but instead of doing this, he declar'd his dislike of all the forms propos'd to them, and is not afraid to let the Legislature know, that if he were call'd upon

upon to subscribe again, he would not do it upon any account whatever. He says, The *Westminster Assembly* have asserted more than they could warrant by the word of God, which he declar'd before his dismission. Was this no evidence that he was departed from the common faith, or a just ground of his ejection? Its plain his dislike of the words, did arise from his dislike of the doctrine contain'd in them. Tho' he often pretends ignorance of what is meant by the word *Person*, yet its evident from his own writings, that he has no doubt whether FATHER, SON, or HOLY GHOST, are three distinct Persons, but he denies them to be *the same in substance, equal in power and glory*. If he had not design'd to amuse the people and conceal himself, but to act a fair and open part, he would have own'd as much, and not have pretended a difficulty about the word *Person*.

IN the account he gives of the conversation between Mr. Lavington and himself, he expresses a dislike of the words GOD and FATHER, taken sometimes personally, and sometimes essentially. He cannot but know that this distinction is common among those, who are in the *old scheme*, and is frequently used by men of the greatest learning and judgment. Because he is pleas'd to repeat and assert old exploded errors without adding new light or force to them, as we can perceive, he should not think that we must immediately acquiesce without any new proof. We acknowledge, that where there is mention made of the GOD and FATHER of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, it must be meant of the first Person in the Sacred TRINITY, and in other places, where it is evident from the context, that either the SON or SPIRIT is spoken of, it's taken personally: But where there is nothing in that or in the subject matter, that peculiarly appropriates it to any One of the Sacred Three, what hinders but that it may be meant of GOD essentially, or as including FATHER, SON, and SPIRIT? since we are assur'd from the whole tenor of the Scripture, that there is but One GOD, and yet that in the GODHEAD there is FATHER, SON, and SPIRIT. For Mr. P. to say, That in such places the FATHER is only spoken of,

of, is to take for granted what he should have prov'd. The like we say of the word FATHER, tho' the FATHER of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, is always the *first Person*, yet we are certain that the work of creation is ascrib'd to each of the Persons, and we are equally indebted to them for our being and blessings. They are jointly our CREATORS, and in that sense may be stv'd the FATHER or PARENT of all. We are requir'd to remember our CREATORS, (as the word imports in the original) because they are distinct Persons, tho' one in nature, power and operation.

IT's desir'd the reader will remark how far Mr. Peirce in this page acknowledges, That pag. 148.
149.
CHRIST must be such a GOD as after the day of judgment should have no rule, or authority, or power: and a little after, says, I can see no absurdity at all in supposing that a deriv'd authority may be surrender'd; or that the FATHER should then be *All in All*. And is not this an execrable doctrine that doth so directly abolish the Deity of CHRIST, our Saviour! contrary to the apostle to the Hebrews, speaking of the SON, Thy throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever. If such expositions and opinions prevail, they will destroy both the foundation and fabrick of Christianity, and by worshipping CHRIST as a creature (as Abp. Tillotson observ'd) bring idolatry into the church at the back-door. Let the reader observe, that this good doctrine comes amongst us from Dr. Clark and Mr. Whiston, and never belong'd to the *first Reformers, old Puritans, or later Nonconformists.*

BUT it is to be further observ'd, That tho' GOD, even the FATHER, spoken of in 1 Cor. xv. 24. to whom CHRIST will deliver up the kingdom, may be meant of the *first Person*; yet Mr. P. has not prov'd that the expression, v. 28. That GOD may be *All in All*, must be confin'd to the FATHER, exclusive of the SON and SPIRIT. Each of the Sacred Persons sustain distinct and different characters in the *economy* of our Redemption. This being by their joint consent, is no proof of any inequality in *nature*, or of one's having any proper authority over the other. The FATHER is re-

presented as sustaining the rights of the Deity or the character of supreme Legislator. The Son as sustaining the character of Mediator or Redeemer. No doubt but this office and the authority belonging to it is inferior to that of the FATHER's; but his voluntary condescending to this, did not deprive him of the supreme power and authority which did originally and essentially belong to him as the eternal SON of GOD, who with the FATHER and SPIRIT, is our chief Good, and highest End, our sovereign Lord and Happiness. Mr. P. confounds that authority which belongs to CHRIST as God, with that which belongs to CHRIST as Redeemer. The former He always was, and would have been posseſ'd of tho' there had been no Apostacy or Redemption; the latter necessarily supposes our apostacy from GOD, and his gracious undertaking to redeem us. It began in Time, and will end with it. Tho' this mediatorial power be so glorious and extensive that none but a divine Person was capable of exercising it, yet it was necessary he should assume our nature and die, before he could exercise it in a way becoming the honour of the divine Government. His kingly power as MEDIATOR is founded upon his priestly office, it's the consequence and reward of his obedience and suffering in his human nature. This belongs to the Person of our REDEEMER as GOD-MAN. That he in this capacity, should be the immediate Governor and Judge of the world, and have the immediate administration and execution of all Affairs committed to him; was owing to the mutual agreement between the FATHER and HIM, in consideration of what He was to do and suffer: And having faithfully and successfully finish'd his work, the FATHER, in our language, may be said to give it to Him as Mediator. This delegated Authority being suited to the state of apostate creatures, in their present condition, and designed to answer some special ends and purposes; when these are fully accomplish'd, as they will be after the general Judgment, the continuance of it will then be no longer necessary: and in this sense it may be said to be delivered up. CHRIST, as Mediator will then make it appear, that He has faithfully accomplish'd all the ends for which He was vested with that Authority, and will no doubt have the approbation of his FATHER, and

and the praises and hallelujahs of men and angels; and this without divesting himſelf of that supreme Authority, which did always belong to Him as the eternal SON of GOD. If such as Mr. P. have so mean and impious notions concerning the blessed REDEEMER, as to think He is only such a GOD as after the day of judgment will have no rule, or authority, or power, we for our part are not afash'm'd to profess our belief, that as He was GOD from everlasting; *in the beginning was with GOD the FATHER, and was GOD*, so He will be to everlasting. We hope to be for ever ſubje&t to his government, and happy in the enjoyment of Him, who with the FATHER, and SPIRIT, is GOD All in All.

MR. Peirce, denies there was any appearance of warmth in the dispute the Narrative takes notice of, *West. Inq.* p. 150. They who gave the information, tho' they thought it not worth while to ſend up certificates upon every particular, are no doubt if defir'd, able and ready to make good what is here related. Mr. P. will acknowledge no vehemence, except it be understood of the strength of his arguments; but how strong foever they were in his own opinion, they fail'd of giving ſatisfaction. He says, 'Tis like enough he might ask, *Where they found in Scripture that the HOLY GHOST was call'd GOD? &c.* And, Why did he put that question? Or why ſhould he judge it hard, that the citizens after this, could not think themſelves ſafe in committing the care of their ſouls to him, who did ſo strongly endeavour to stagger them in a fundamental article of their faith? He is pleas'd to put the ſame question to the publishers of the Narrative. To which it is reply'd, That he well knows the places that are commonly referr'd to, and their present buſineſſ is to confirm the truth of the Narrative, and not to divert to that which has been done a thouſand times already, and is needless as well as impertinent. His buſineſſ is not to put us upon new proofs, but to refell the arguments that are already produc'd by judicious and godly divines.

He is a good voucher for what follows. But the writers of the Narrative are not ſo ſensible of the truth

truth of what was said by Mr. Hallet, scil. (That not all the London ministers sentiments differ'd much from theirs) as they are, that those ministers must now be more and more convinc'd of the truth of the charge against Mr. Peirce, Mr. Hallet and others, namely, That they are departed from the common faith, and that those fears the Exeter people had of their ministers were not altogether without ground.

We only observe here, That 'tis to be fear'd Mr. Hallet's expression, and what has been elsewhere publish'd will be matter of stumbling to many, and therefore hope, the brethren referr'd to, will think themselves concern'd to satisfy the world more publickly and plainly that herein they have been wrong'd.

M R. Peirce throws out a threatening, by pag. 151. saying, *H*e would not in haste give them any occasion again to twit him with his writing in defence of the dissenters. In answer to which, We hope so good a cause will never want advocates, and tho' he may think himself the very *Atlas* of it (as this lofty sentence looks that way) yet we have no fear upon us at all, that it will want a support after one pillar fails us, any more than it did before Mr. P. was born. And tho' we desire to keep a good conscience in every thing, and would have every Truth vindicated in its place, yet we cannot but think that controversy, if compar'd with this, to be no more than a gnat to a camel, or a pimple to the plague: And that it will avail us very little to embalm the memory or plead the cause of the ancient Puritans, if we destroy their faith. But perhaps the loose and general faith which Mr. P. aims at, is intended to usher in the glorious time approaching, which he, with his friend Mr. Whistten, had fix'd with so great assurance, while wise men look'd upon it a little planetary.

H E alledges, That Mr. Trots and Mr. Hal- pag. 152. let always directed the Clerk what he should sing, and that Mr. Trots was against singing any thing but the translation of Scripture. And appeals to the reader, pag. 153. Whether the people had more reason to be offend'd with him than with Mr. Trots? To

To all which, this is a full reply, That tho' Mr. Tross directed what the Clerk should sing, yet never forbade our singing *Doxologies* at the end of those *Psalms*, as Mr. Peirce did: No; but he look'd upon those as scriptural which Mr. P. would not suffer the congregation to sing; as is evident from his positive order to the *clerk*, to sing those wherein glory was expressly given to FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST. That Mr. Tross did order it, appears by the following certificate.

THIS is to certify, all persons whom it may concern,
That I Thomas Nor-nan was clerk at James's Meet-
ing-houle about nine years and three quarters (while Mr.
Trot and Mr. Jof. Hallet were pastors there) and that we
then very often sang those Doxologies wherein there was
express glory given to the FATHER, SON, and HOLY
GHOST, and sometimes I had Mr. Trot's order and di-
rection so to do.

Witness my hand, Thomas Norman
Nov. 14, 1719.

THE world, to whom Mr. Peirce appeals, may from hence judge, that Mr. Tross never gave the people of *Exon* any uneasiness, as Mr. P. did, and will conclude, that none but Mr. P. would have made such an appeal.

As to the charge which Mr. Peirce brings against one of the clerks for boasting, he would fit some people with Doxologies; and that he himself stuck not to alter them, (if he did at the composing them) to render them more offensive: It is of a like nature with most of his other stories, viz. false and groundless, as appears by the following certificate.

WH^ER^EA^S Mr. Peirce in his West. Inq. pag.
1^o 2. says That it was reported, that one of the
clerks used to boast how he would fit some people with
Doxologies, and that he was observ'd to be very dex-
turous in picking them up, and that he himself stuck
not

not to alter them, (if he did at composing them) to render them the more offensive. This is to certify, all whom it may concern, That we whose names are under-written (being the clerks of the three united congregations) did never boast how we would fit some people with Doxologies, nor did we ever alter any, much less ever compose any Doxologies, to render them the more offensive.

Witnesſ our hands,

Thomas Norman,
Richard Dawkins,
John Handleigh.

A N D whereas Mr. Peirce cavills at two
pag. 153. lines of a *Doxology* that was sung, Mr.
Peirce never mention'd this at the meeting
of the Committee, when they urg'd, that his permit-
ting the use of the *Doxologies* would go a great way
to the peace of the city; nor did the people desire
this or that version of a *Doxology*, but only such as
gave Glory to the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, as
the One GOD: of which there are multitudes which
would have given the people satisfaction. And no doubt
the two former lines of this *Doxology*, he is pleas'd
to mention but a part of, was as offensive to him as
these he recites, and much more.

He owns he was told (as it is mention'd
pag. 154. in the account) that *his complying with the*
peoples request to give them liberty to sing
the Doxologies, whereby they might worship GOD ac-
cording to the conviction of their minds, together with
the teaching the *Assemblies Catechism* would go a great
way to the peace of the city; And yet he would not
comply with this request, but soon after calls upon
Mr. Lavington to mention one step he had taken, that
has not agreed perfectly with his pretences for liber-
ty and peace. The world will think his abridging the
people of their liberty to sing their former *Doxologies*
a sufficient answer to that demand; and will look on
it as a shameful evasion for him to say *pag. 156.* *they were*

were at liberty to do it at home, he hinder'd them not, that is, where it was not in his power to hinder 'em. The people ow'd him abundance of thanks for that liberty, which of his great grace he condescend-ed to grant them; when at the same time he took away their liberty in publick, of praising God in the manner they thought they were bound to do; espe-cially in this juncture, to testify their faith in and worship of the HOLY TRINITY.

IT is a weak defence as well as a very indifferent compliment pass'd by Mr. Peirce pag. 155. upon the gentleman to insinuate, that *he was not bound to take his word.* 'Tis believ'd the gentleman was far from expecting he would be under his *single direction.* But as Mr. P. had reason to believe that what he spoke, was the sense of many others, besides his own, it deserv'd more regard. The reader may here observe, how, when he could not find, he frames a handle on purpose to throw out some further injurious reflections on Mr. Lavington, whom he condemns as an enemy to peace, but does it with as little truth as when he charges him with having furnish'd the passage he recites from pag. 8, of the *Narrative* and calls a *reflection.* The writers of the *Narrative* do assure him it is false. That account, upon which he takes occasion to abuse Mr. Lavington was receiv'd from one who knew the truth, but is no minister. And how can Mr. P. say for himself that he was determin'd to have no hand in making divisions, when his abridging people the liberty of singing Glory to the FATHER, Son, and HOLY GHOST, would unavoidab'y promote 'em, as Mr. P. knew.

HE seems to value himself highly upon what he has said in asserting the rights of the people. pag. 156. But if he argues no better in his other writings than in that paragraph, the people will have need to look out for a better patron. In this and other instances, he shews how difficult a thing it is to argue without bias and prejudice, where self is concern'd. Is it not the right of the people to worship God in publick, as well as in their closets and families in the way they

they think most agreeable to his will? Have they not a right, according to the real belief and practice of the christian church, to ascribe glory to the FATHER, SON, and SPIRIT as to the One GOD? If he would not suffer them to do this when he preach'd among them, did he not do what in him lay to deprive them of their liberty? Had they not reason to be uneasy at this, especially considering the notions that were then prevailing, and that his forbidding them the *Doxologies*, was a practical declaration that such glory was not due? What though the ordering these things be usually lodg'd in the minister, this is on supposition that he and they are of the same faith. When it appear'd, that he was going to deprive them of the liberty of declaring their faith in one of the most important doctrines of the Gospel, and of exercising their devotion in one of the highest acts of worship, it was full time for hem to assert their own just rights and liberties. What tho' they did not use these *Doxologies* every time they met for publick worship, is there no difference between their not doing what they might have done if they had pleas'd, and another person's debarring them of this liberty without, nay, against their consent? If Mr. P. and the greatest part of the congregation had been of his sentiments, he would have had some colour for what he did; But what reason was there, that he and a few of his *Arian* friends should take upon them to deprive the body of the congregation of this liberty? A separation cou'd not but follow upon their not agreeing in the object of their worship. Before the *penal* laws against the protestant dissenters were repeal'd, those that made them, or were advocates for them, might have pleaded just as Mr. P. does, How, good Sir, do we debar you of your liberty? Have you not liberty to worship GOD in your c'osets, and families, or with a number not exceeding five? But if notwithstanding this, they have a further right to perform the same worship in larger assemblies, they that shall go about to deprive them of it, will by impartial persons be look'd upon as *betrayers rather than assertors of their liberty.*

Pag. 157. Mr. Peirce says, That the account in the *Narrative of his forbidding the Doxologies,* is

is brought in as a thing that mov'd the ministers to send their letter before the *September assembly*, whereas his forbidding the *Doxologies*, was not till some time after the *assembly*. It is plain Mr. P. does himself confirm the fact, viz. *That he forbad the Doxologies*; and so the *Narrative* is perfectly clear of his charge of *faithlessness* as to the main point here in hand, as it is in every other part of it, whatever hard epithets he is pleas'd out of his abundant liberality to bestow upon it. And he is wrong in saying, *That this is brought in as a thing that mov'd the ministers to send that letter*, since that letter, as appears by the *Narrative*, was not grounded upon the whole of the foregoing account; but only on the contents of the first letter directed to a private brother, which had nothing of this in it, nor could have, according to Mr. P. But granting a failure in circumstance of time, which, after what has been said, can signify little, and does no way affect the main charge; ought the *Narrative* to be deem'd **FAITHLESS**, and the whole of it brought under discredit upon the failure of a circumstance, that can be here but of small moment? Then what *epithets* in proportion of speech would be sufficient to bestow on Mr. P's *Inquisition*! which contains a continu'd train of falsehoods, even in the *most material things*, and those evidently prov'd upon him throughout his whole book.

As to what he says concerning his forbidding the *Doxologies*, that it is not pertinently alledg'd as a reason for their ejection; and his suggesting as if it were an accusation wherein he alone was concern'd; and as if Mr. Hallet had never been charg'd with forbidding these *Doxologies in singing*. This is not true; for if the reader casts his eye on the *Citizens Defence of their Account*, p. 8. he will find that they alledge this against Mr. Hallet, that he gave directions to the *clerk* to leave out such *Doxologies* as did most fully express the *Deity* of the *S O N* and *HOLY GHOST*. His direction was to leave out all such wherein the *equality* of the Divine Persons was express'd. And whereas Mr. P. says, Mr. Hallet used to ascribe glory to the *FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST*; in the said *Defence of the Account*, p. 7, 8. the citizens say, *That whereas he was wont to conclude his prayer with ascribing all honour and glory to FATHER, SON, and HOLY*

HOLY GHOST, he for a long time left out the word *all*; and when he had express'd himself as usual and ascrib'd *all honour and glory to FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST.* he call'd it back again in the face of the congregation, as tho' he had ascrib'd too much to the Son, and HOLY GHOST. To which may be added Mr. Hallet's declaration before several of the city the 24th of October 1718. where one in company complaining of the hardship they of *James's meeting* were under, that they could not have leave to worship GOD according to the conviction of their consciences in giving glory to the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, one of them appeal'd to Mr. Withers, What he would do if he were in their case? Mr. Hallet answer'd, You do it oftner than ever you did; and then added, you have no warrant for it from the word of GOD: But Mr. Withers reply'd, It is their due, and were I able to sing, I'd sing it.

pag. 158. As to what Mr. Peirce says about *Catechising*, he owns, p. 154. it was one of those things propos'd to him by one of the committee. And tho' he says there, I was well assur'd in my own mind, that what that gentleman said was not true. And p. 155. adds, Why was I bound to take that gentleman's word? yet he could not but know that gentleman spake the sense of the committee, and many others; and that, as the Account says, his compliance with these two things, viz. Giving the people liberty to use those Doxologies in singing, and also their teaching the Assembly's Catechism, would go a great way to the peace of the city. And therefore, tho' he suggests, that it was not true that he was ask'd to teach it, or that he refus'd; What could he make of this proposal (which was several months before the ejectionment) but a plain desire? And what can his noncompliance with this proposal be, but a plain refusal? What is therefore said in the Narrative is not a base and unworthy representation, nor any argument of the mean spirit of its author or editors; but what Mr. P. offers in these different pages, will convince the world, that he himself hath not that regard to truth and sincerity, that a historian should have. In answer to the excuses he makes for Mr. Hallet, 'tis reply'd, That how difficult soever it was to procure children

children to answer, yet he had such as were ready to do it, as they had several times done; and to help the badness of his sight, a gentlewoman freely offer'd to get a larger print, if he would go on with it. By this it may be seen how far Mr. P. has given a true account of this whole affair.

As to the ejection of Mr. Roger Beadon, the pag. 158, promoting of which, Mr. Peirce endeavours 159. to charge upon Mr. Walrond, p. 90, 91. and 158, 159. There needs no more be said in answer to this calumny, than what is certify'd by the principal members of that congregation, which is as follows:

IN pag. 90, 91. of Mr. Peirce's West. Inq. he suggests, That Mr. Beadon's ejection was procur'd or hasten'd by Mr. Walrond. We do unanimously attest, That his ejection was intirely our own act, and not in the least advised or persuaded by him, or any minister whatsoever. And we do further testify, That at the request of Mr. Ball and Mr. Walrond, his ejection was delay'd for some considerable time, that they might confer with him; after which conference (without giving us their opinion) they left the case to us to bring the decision of it to such an issue as we in our consciences should judge right.

John Bending,
William Leat,
Andrew Leat,
John Pounce,
Richard Baylie,
Henry Terleat,
Samuel Teed.

Samuel Leat,
John Baylie,
Tho. Stocker,
Thomas Seaward,
Roger Paver,
John Leat,

N.B. This certificate is twice inserted, because it refers to pag. 91, 92. of the *West. Inq.* and again, to pag. 159, where M. P. resumes the slander.

Mr. Peirce denies that Mr. Beadon was pag. 159. obstinate in his error.

WE therefore, whose names are under-written, do hereby testify, That we did desire Mr. Beadon's congregation to delay their design'd ejection till we had talk'd with him and endeavour'd to reclaim him; which we accordingly did, as other ministers had done before, but he prov'd inflexible, as 'tis known he continues to this day.

John Ball,
John Walrond,

AND whereas he asserts, That Mr. Beadon was ejected only for denying the genuineness of 1 John v. 7. and refusing to use the Assembly's Catechism, and saying, that the SON was not in all respects equal to the FATHER.

WE whose names are subscrib'd, who are members of the church at Budleigh, do aver and testify, That Mr. Beadon did not only refuse to use the Assembly's Catechism, but declar'd, that he had us'd it almost two years past, against his conscience, and would never use it more; and yet he had frequently within that time, and once particularly within three months of his ejection, exhorted parents and masters to teach the said Catechism to their children and servants, and blam'd them for their negligence in that respect. This we took to be an argument not only of his erroneous opinion, but of gross hypocrisy and prevarication.

Samuel Leat,
Henry Terleat,
William Leat,
Thomas Seaward,
Richard Pinn,
Richard Baylie,

John Bending, sen.
Andrew Leat,
John Baylie,
John Leat,
Roger Paver,
Samuel Teed,

AS to his denial of the text, in 1 John. v. 7. He did not only deny its genuineness, but asserted before several of us, that we might as well place the verse of a ballad or a rhyme in the Bible as that; nor was that the only place of scripture which he objected to, for he also

also told us that Phil. ii. 6. was falsely translated, and
not to be depended on.

Thomas Seaward.
Samuel Lear.
John Bending, sen.

As to the 3d. particular mention'd, That he was ejected for saying that the SON was not in all respects equal to the FATHER. We believ'd CHRIST as GOD to be One GOD with or equal to the FATHER, and he also declar'd that to be his faith, when he was ordain'd among us, and upon that condition we chose him. We never desir'd him to declare that CHRIST as man was equal to GOD, or that he was in all respects equal to the FATHER. But as we were well satisfy'd that our Bible was the word of GOD, and our Catechism agreed therewith in this article of our faith, rather than get a new Bible for ourselves, or a new Catechism for our children, we resolv'd to get a new minister. Indeed he drew up a certificate without our concurrence much to the purpose that Mr. Peirce mentions; but this we utterly refus'd to subscribe, because we found he had not fairly stated the causes of our turning him out.

John Bending, sen.
Samuel Lear.
Andrew Lear,
John Lear.
John Baylie.

Thomas Seaward.
William Lear.
Richard Baylie.
Roger Paver.
Henry Terleat,

IN this page, We find that Mr. Beadon denies that he was unanimously discharg'd by pag. 159. his Congregation.

WE do testify that to our knowledge there were but two of the contributors (after we had debated the matter with Mr. Beadon) that appear'd any thing uneasly at his ejection and they both acquiesced in it, and continu'd

contin'd very willingly to contribute to the succeeding minister.

John Bending, sen.
Samuel Leat.
Thomas Seaward.
John Baylie.
Thomas Stocker,

John. Pounce.
Richard Baylie.
Roger Paver.
Henry Terleat.

WE whose names are under-written were present at the debate between Mr. Beadon and his people about November last, and among other things which we heard from him, that the people objected to, we heard him particularly assert, That if they built on our present translation of the Bible they would build on a sandy foundation.

Witness our hands;
Nov. 30. 1719.

Isaiah Simonds.
Samuel Hart.

MR. Beadon did deny in my hearing the genuineness of 1 John v. 7. and that he would not use the Assembly's Catechism.

Thomas Stocker.

MMR. Roger Beadon did in my hearing deny 1 John v. 7. to be scripture, and declar'd, he had taught the Assembly's Catechism contrary to his conscience two years, and would not teach it more; notwithstanding he frequently exhorted parents and masters of families to instruct their children and servants to be more perfect therein, and blam'd them for not doing it, and particularly once within three months of his ejectment, and when some places were quoted to him, he would answer, He knew it was so in our Bibles,

John Pounce.

In the page above mention'd there is also a vile and slanderous representation of Mr. Walrond's stopping Mr. Beadon's money from London, because he had apply'd himself to the assembly and not to him to procure it, and Mr. P. makes many base reflections upon him afterwards; to shew no doubt, his *justice*, *charity* and *good-will* to that person at whom he so often levels in his book. But this unjust imputation will be effectually confuted by that worthy and reverend minister Mr. Joseph Manston; who upon his admiring what could possibly be the occasion of so malicious a slander, told him, he could both inform and vindicate him, which he did, sending him the following certificate under his hand.

THE page 159. of Mr. Peirce's book is a very false and malicious account of what Mr. Walrond acted about Mr. Beadon's application to London; I am apt to think that Mr. Beadon by his particular friend refers to me; but whether he doth or not, I know this to be the true matter of fact; however perverted by him or Mr. Peirce. I apply'd to the ministers assembled at Exon in Mr. Beadon's behalf; and at the assembly's request, the late Mr. Clement Weeks wrote to London from whence he had a promise of some assistance. Mr. Walrond, who was always a friend and benefactor to Mr. Beadon afterwards meeting with Mr. Weeks told him, That according to his information Sidmouth-meeting had more need of help than Budleigh; for he was told, that they raised at Budleigh so much per. Annum, as exempted that case from the London charity; for they had resolv'd against applying their charity to any that had such an annual Income. As soon as I came to the knowledge of this, out of my particular friendship to Mr. Beadon, I assur'd Mr. Walrond, that his informers were mistaken, which I advis'd Mr. Beadon to go and confirm. As soon as Mr. Walrond found he was misinform'd, he acquainted Mr. Weeks with it, and accordingly the help from London was continu'd, with very little if any interruption, and Mr. Walrond himself continu'd even till Mr. Beadon's ejection, his own contribution to him. This is the truth of the matter, however

ever perverted, and is not the only instance of Mr. Bea-
don's gratitude to his hearty friends and benefactors.

Joseph Manston.

WHAT makes Mr. Peirce so ready to receive a false report, and to seem so willing to pick up such idle and ungrounded stories against me, and then to make such bitter reflections on them, with an air of scorn and haughtiness, I can't imagine; since I ever carry'd it with great respect and civility towards him, and had no jarr or discord with him but in this doctrinal controversy. And surely if this gentleman will be so mean as to hearken to every idle tale and misrepresentation that is brought him by any of his *votaries* and then report it in print; he will find trouble enough both for himself and the world, but conciliate little credit to his writings.

BEFORE we part I am willing to acknowledge one debt I owe him besides *charity*, I mean my thanks for the honour he has done me, in recording my name with the six worthy ministers, that the gentlemen of Exeter thought fit to advise with. May it stand among them for ever as a joint testimony for the divinity of our Glorious Redeemer: And let all the adversaries of CHRIST'S GODHEAD know, that I esteem it my truest glory, and value it more than all the inscriptions that could be made by *art* and *flattery*. May he name us in all the pamphlets he shall spawn; and like *Ahab*, join us with such troublers of *Israel* as *Elijah* was. Every spot of dirt he shall cast upon us in this cause, I will venture to say, we shall all look upon as an *ornament*; and whatever censure he or the *men of liberty* shall bestow upon us, we hope we shall in all places, by *subscribing* as well as *preaching*, confess our LORD JESUS before men, that he may confess us before his FATHER which is in Heaven.

Joseph Walron.

MR.

Mr. Peirce insinuates here as if Mr. Withers was admitted by the people only for pag, 160. satisfying Mr. Walrond. Mr. Withers indeed came down to the gentleman's house where Mr. Walrond lodg'd, but declar'd his assent to the first article of the Church of England not only before him, but another minister, and several of the principal of the citizens; so that there was no foundation for Mr. Peirce's base reflection on Mr. Walrond in that page, neither does Mr. Walrond deserve to be treated by him in many other places of his book, with such indecency and injustice, but is able to appeal to all his brethren from Mr. P's unrighteous censures.

Tis pity a Man of so much sense as Mr. P. should not aim at a little more honour and good breeding. Should we judge of the catholick spirit of Arius by this gentleman's temper, we should be apt to think it not a little fierce and fiery. And as he stiles his book the WESTERN INQUISITION, so we should be very sorry to see him a FATHER INQUISITOR. But we must not wonder at his manner of treating a single brother thus rudely, since he dealt with the whole assembly in such an haughty strain; nay, in his dialogue with Mr. Eveleigh, the reader will find the whole Christian Church arraign'd of error, and our Christianity suppos'd not to have common sense. See Mr. Eveleigh's letter to Mr. P. and his reply to Mr. P's, letter p. 20, 21. This renders him an unhappy instance of Archbishop Tillotson's observation, That they who have once drawn blood in controversy, are seldom known to return to a good temper again.

To go on, Mr. Peirce turns again to the Narrative to pass his remarks on a letter sent to pag. 160, some London ministers from twelve of the managers. But before he does this, being pretty much out of humour, he bestows a mark of his displeasure upon the publisher for printing their names at length with Mr. before them. That fault (committed in a hurry of writing) was corrected before the edition was finish'd. Mr. P. might have pass'd it by as no way affecting the cause, and herein

herein have shewn that he was above taking notice of so mean a trifle.

IN his *Remarks on the Letter*, he says, pag. 161. *The substance of it has been already consider'd, And so has the substance of his Remarks upon it.*

THE gentlemen needed not much zeal to fix on him and his party the charge of *Arian* notions, seeing they have sufficiently done it themselves. Without doubt he thinks to serve some considerable end in continually disclaiming the *name*; or else considering his real and avow'd sentiments, he might be ashame'd of doing it. Nothing is plainer than that he advances such notions as were always esteem'd *Arian* ever since that *heresy* sprung up in the christian church.

THE world sees by the *certificates* produc'd in this book, what kind of wild notions the people had entertain'd, and yet in Mr. P's judgment this was owing to the conviction wrought in them by *scripture, reason, and argument*. Could any one in conscience say this, that was not of the same sentiments with them? This would tempt one to suspect he had some hand in propagating them. The gentlemen might not think that the bare authority of the *assembly* would put a stop to the growth of these notions, yet might hope, that when by a *declaration* the sense of so many wise, learned and good men, was known; it would put those, who were not puffed up with pride and conceit, upon serious consideration and re-examining matters, by which means they might come to discern the vanity of those sophistical cavils by which they had been too unwarily intangled and insnare'd.

MR. Peirce is sorry they should reckon that a great and necessary point of faith, when, he says, they can't produce one place of Scripture that plainly asserts it. Will he affirm, that every necessary article of faith must be expressly contain'd in some one single place of Scripture, or deny that what unavoidably results from two places compar'd together, is necessary to be believ'd? If this be his real sentiment, why did he not answer Mr. Cummins on that argument? or if that be too long a task, let

let him try his skill against what is offer'd in a shorter discourse by Sir Richard Blackmore.

THE gentlemens behaviour to him and his treatment of them being publish'd to the world, we believe few, except those who are infected with the same errors, but will be satisfy'd they were no way wanting *in respect and deference*, they will rather wonder they bore so long as they did.

MR. Peirce makes his reflections on a letter sent from London. It's plain that person pag. 162, did not imagine the infection was there so 163. deep and extensive as it hath since appeared to be. No wonder that he and his other brethren were backward to meddle in an affair of this nature at so great a distance, and which did so properly lie before the neighbouring ministers, who could more easily come at a true knowledge of all the particulars belonging to it. Are they to blame for this their caution? They gave no judgment before, only in general declar'd by what rules they should think themselves oblig'd to act, without applying them to the case of Exeter in particular. They left that to the gentlemen as they should find themselves concern'd or not concern'd in them.

He says, That the *only grounds* on which the *citizens* ejected their ministers were *negative*, and the *only reason* was, that they *would not assent to human tests*. The *citizens* think they have abundantly prov'd in their *Account* and the *Defence* of it, that their ministers were not only passive but active in propagating the new scheme. And therefore they judge it sufficient to insert their own answer to the like declaration of Mr. P. in his *Defence*, p. 5, 6, 33. It is in their *Def. of the Account*, p. 17.
 " We think this reply in these several places, is no-
 " thing but an artful turn, and playing with words
 " on purpose to amuse and deceive the people, and
 " conceal a faith he durst not own, and indeed a great
 " part of the *Defence* is nothing else; for no one will
 " believe that his ejection rests only on his not agree-
 " ing to a test of unscriptural words, if he would have
 " profess'd to believe the thing. The *citizens* would
 " have been satisfy'd with any other declaration of his

" belief of the supreme Deity of CHRIST, and the H O L Y
 " G H O S T , as one G O D with the F A T H E R , so that
 " it had been but a plain and full evidence of his be-
 " lief of the doctrine."

MR. Peirce speaks of the difference between him and his people as if it was like to a money matter, that necessarily requir'd *arbitrators* to be chosen on both sides to determine it; but this is a very improper representation of the case. The people have an undoubted right to be satisfy'd of the soundness of their faith under whose ministry they continue. If their ministers refuse to give them satisfaction, and more especially if they give just ground of dissatisfaction, they have in this case a right to withdraw from their ministry; and provided they be the greatest part of a congregation, they may dismiss them without having the matter determin'd by way of arbitration. When Mr. P. has prov'd, that he had as much right to continue that peoples minister (tho' he was departed from the faith) till cast out by the *arbitration* of such as he should choose; as the gentlemen may have in money matters under debate till they are determin'd by law or arbitration, he may then draw a comparison between one and t'other: but till then, 'tis all amusement, and the *regardleſs trifle of inconsistency*, as he calls it, lies intirely on his own fide.

AND whereas Mr. Peirce insinuates, That the ministers at London and their friends in the country had agreed to turn out Mr. P. &c. it is affirm'd, That there was no such agreement. The ministers apply'd to at London thought themselves no further engag'd, than to signify their approbation of the three general propositions * concerning which their judgment was ask'd. See

Narrative

* The Propositions : 1. That there are some errors in doctrine which are a sufficient ground for the people to withdraw from their ministers holding such errors.

2. That the denying the true and proper Divinity of the Son of G O D , viz. That He is one G O D with the F A T H E R , is an error of that nature; contrary to the holy Scriptures, and common faith of the reformed churches.

3. That

Narrative, p. 27, 28. They declin'd the particular affair of *Exeter*, not because they were sure, there was no ground for what was afterwards done, and therefore *politically* avoided it, as Mr. P. intimates; but because they apprehended themselves not call'd to it, and that it properly belong'd to those who were immediately concern'd, and capable of making a true judgment, as being upon the spot and fully acquainted with all circumstances. The *ministers* both at *London* and in the country, acted with all the caution, concern and tenderness that was possible; and yet Mr. P. makes no scruple of abusing them. The *citizens* are not ashain'd of the conclusion of this affair; but think that the accounts given here and elsewhere are a sufficient vindication of their conduct, and that many and those persons of good sense, cannot but approve of it, unless Mr. P. will allow none to pass for men of sense but those of his own party.

MR. Peirce endeavours here to turn the serious and affecting account given in the *Narrative* of the sad state of religion at *Exeter*, into banter and ridicule. The event shews, that there was but too much truth in that melancholy relation. When the ministers in those parts found by sad experience that their past silence had given but too much encouragement to others to propagate their pernicious errors in secret, and had reason to fear lest by their longer silence, they should be accessory to their infecting of more; they might without any distrust of their own ability, think it their duty to engage as many more as they could with them in an open defence of the Truth of the Gospel.

3. That when so dangerous an error is industriously propagated, to the overthrowing of the faith of many, we think it the indispensable duty of ministers, who are set for the defence of the Gospel, earnestly to withstand it, and to give reasonable satisfaction to their people of their soundness in the faith. And we likewise recommend to the people, as their duty, To hold fast the truth in love; avoiding anger, clamour, and evil speaking, and to behave themselves with all sincerity and meekness, as becometh christians.

Gospel. Their longer delays would only have brought the peace and safety of those churches into more danger, and given a further opportunity for deceivers to carry on their designs.

He asks, whether in misunderstandings
 pag. 165. between ministers and people the most desirable issue be not *the adjusting such differences and the restoring peace.* 'Tis answer'd, that when the differences are on the account of doctrines of the highest nature and importance, they cannot be safely adjusted nor peace restor'd but upon the ministers renouncing their errors and acknowledging the truth. Without this it would be a peace founded in treachery and issuing in the betraying of the truth. He takes it for granted, that notwithstanding his present sentiments, methods might have been found out for the peoples continuing peaceably and safely under his ministry, but this is a gross mistake. He certainly acted a very bad part in being so long the peoples mouth to God, tho' he knew they paid supreme worship to the SON and SPIRIT as the One God with the FATHER and must for that reason (according to his notions) be guilty of idolatry. For what is idolatry, if giving that worship to another, which is due only to the supreme God, be not? Can he think his mental reservations or secret intention will excuse him from being an accessory and a sharer in such guilt? Ought he not in conscience, as an honest man, to have told 'em of their sin and danger? And if they would not upon this have renounc'd what he judges an error, and worshipp'd God in the way that he takes to be right, he ought to have left 'em of his own accord without their dismission. And on the other hand when his sentiments were known, the people could not with safety entrust their souls any longer to such a ministry; or join with one who paid religious worship to a person he did not believe to be the supreme God. This made a separation necessary, and if Mr. P. had acted an open and honourable part as became a minister, he would have saved both those in city and in country the trouble of giving any advice at all. This is speaking plainly, but the question

Mr. Peirce puts to the gentlemen concern'd in the *Narrative*, whether they are used to give their judgment only upon hearing one side, is ridiculous if he intends the *editors* of it, because they gave none. And the ministers in *London* gave only general Rules of advice and referr'd the determination of matters to those to whom it did more properly belong.

MR. Peirce having dismissed the *Narrative* comes here again to the account. Where the first thing complain'd of is it's being out in order of time. He can't say that the *charge* in the account is not true, and therefore what he offers, only shews a captious temper, especially when he is forc'd to own that it was several months at least before his ejectionment.

IN this page he quarrels with Mr. Ball for insulting him in his own pulpit and stiles the argument (tho' it hath not yet been answer'd) such as was never calculated to work a rational conviction (the sum of which is contain'd in Mr. Ball's reflection on p. 78. of the *West. Inq.*) to which Mr. Ball gives the following reply.

As to what Mr. Peirce says of my sermon, I did in the close of it encourage Christians to hope for the success of their prayers by the consideration of the dignity of the mediator: and here I propounded an argument to prove that CHRIST was truly GOD, One God with the FATHER. Whether there was no need of it let any one judge by the certificates, and the subscriptions of the twenty ministers and candidates that divided from the assembly. It was thought by those that were for the receiv'd doctrine to be very seasonable, (tho' Mr. P. says some of our own side wish'd I had let it alone) But I thought I could not have been silent in that place, without betraying my Master's cause; and there was not the least reflection upon any man, nor mention of the contrary opinion.

MR. Peirce calls it an *insult*: 'Tis pity any should take it amiss to have what he worships prov'd to be

God

God ; and they that can't away with this, are wont to call whatever displeases them by *hard names*. 'Tis uncharitable, bitter, foolish, full of contradiction and nonsense, which is Mr. P's censure upon the greatest divines among all parties, such as *Usher, Pearson, Tillotson, Bull, Owen, Manton*. That if they do not understand subordination as he doth, they speak inconsistently with themselves (pag. 140.) and who will look into any of them after he hath pass'd such a sentence upon them ? And what fools have all christians been to admire them !

If Mr. Peirce thinks we want some learning that he has ; yet if we have learn't to be *meek and lowly in heart*, we have profited something in CHRIST'S school.

John Ball,

In this page he says, *That after the alarm was sounded, he believes there was none, that entertain'd the least hopes or expectations of peace, however, that he would not be provok'd by this to bring the controversy into the pulpit, and therefore took no publick notice of it.* If there were no such expectations of peace, after this, it was not owing to Mr. Ball but to Mr. Peirce himself ; because about this time, he forbad the clerk to sing. And how could he hope the people should be easy, when their liberties were so openly invaded, and such an evident alteration made in their worship ? Nor is it true ; that Mr. P. took no publick notice of what he calls Mr. Ball's insult ; for that the same *Lord's-Day* or very soon after he addressed himself to the passions of the people, complaining that several other ministers and himself in particular had a load of reproach and obloquy cast upon them, and were by many represented even as *the filth and off-scouring of all things* : and this was deliver'd in such a manner, that all must think that the keeping his place and the more successful spreading of the notion, was the great thing aim'd at in all his desires of peace.

HERE Mr. Peirce records the names of the seven ministers (a second time) that were call'd in to advise the citizens, and represents them as men pick'd out, and fit for the purpose, (whereas the citizens alledge, they were their near neighbours, and persons of very good esteem, and of unblemish'd character in their country) and then adds his desire, That they may always be remember'd as the Troublers of our Israel.

As to this, Mr. Ball, one of the seven ministers, is desirous to give the world his thoughts in the following paragraph.

MR. Peirce sets down again the names of the seven ministers, who were call'd in by the citizens of Exon to give their advice, to record them to posterity as the TROUBLERS OF ISRAEL; if he had thought fit to print my name in capitals, I should in such a cause not have been displeas'd. And when I read in his book that I am accounted a Troubler of Israel, I cannot but remember our SAVIOUR's words, that this should be a comfort to us, when we are revil'd, that men us'd no worse language to us than they did formerly to the prophets; Is it not a satisfaction to share in the reproach of that great man of God, Elijah, AND FOR THE SAME CAUSE TOO? His crime was, that he stood up for the worship of the One God, against the subordinate worship of another that was not God, and as he said, if Baal be God, serve him; so say we, if CHRIST be God, serve him; but if he be not God at all or an inferior God, let us forbear. Remember his own words, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. And the Angel in the Revelations says, Worship God. These are plain Scripture words, from our SAVIOUR's own mouth; and He will be the Judge of the world. When I think on these things, I cannot be ashamed of mens revilings. I hope I have done what is acceptable in the sight of God, who knows I had no other design than that the Truth of the Gospel might remain among us. If Mr. P. will call what I firmly believe,

believe, contradictions and nonsense, he says no worse of me than of the greatest men for learning and piety.

My conscience is my witness, that I had never the least grudge against him or Mr. Hallet (tho' the latter says the contrary of me) but heartily rejoyc'd in their reputation and acceptance. BUT I COULD NEVER THINK OF DYING WITH ANY PEACE, should I have been silent, and not have warn'd the churches of the doctrines that were privily bringing in among them, tho' cover'd a little while under equivocations and false and unthought of senses put upon words and phrases: Tho' indeed they now begin to speak more plainly, as I have hinted before.

John Ball.

PAG. 169. IN the account Mr. Peirce gives of the conversation that pass'd between him and some of the seven advisers, he says, That the objections against him were his not preaching and writing against the new notions. 'Tis evident from the sermons he preach'd, that they tended to increase the peoples fears of him, and gave them fresh grounds of dissatisfaction. He continually speaks of these prime articles of the christian faith as mere speculative points, tho' they do most immediately affect our worship and trust, and have a direct influence into the practice of holiness. He pretended to them a distrust of his ability to write in this cause, and says, *That a man might be inclin'd to an opinion which he would not venture upon publickly defending.* This was a mean attempt to impose upon the ministers as well as the people, as if he were inclin'd to the common doctrine, tho' he did not care to appear a champion for it. He could not indeed with any good grace write in defence of what he did not believe, but now his secular views are over, he can appear openly and confidently enough for the contrary scheme, which shows all this conversation to be sham and collusion.

PAG. 170. MR. Peirce says, *He insisted on it as a piece of justice, that the seven ministers should give no advice*

advice against him without hearing first what he had to say ; but says, they took no notice of it. It's a sufficient answer to this, That the seven ministers declin'd giving any advice to the citizens with respect to their ministers, but only laid down three general propositions, wherein they had the consent of multitudes of their brethren, which they consulted both in London and the Country, and tho' Mr. P. would have the reader observe the caution with which this is express'd, had Mr. P. observ'd the like caution, his history had not been fill'd with such a multitude of misrepresentations as now it is. 'Tis not said they had the approbation of all the ministers whom they thought fit to consult, &c. He then adds, I am inform'd, that several in the country, who were sent to, gave advice of a different nature. But this was a false information ; for all whom they consulted, concurr'd with the above opinion, except one single minister.

He says, He can't but reflect upon the scruple with which they of Exeter close their Account, wherein they say, " They can't joyn in communion with those who declare, 'tis no sin to say, CHRIST is a creature, or deny the Deity of the HOLY GHOST, and for this wise reason, many of them went from him, and joyn'd with Mr. Lavington, where the persons they charg'd with these sayings, were actually in communion, having never been suspended."

To this Mr. P. if he would have been fair and honest, should farther have added out of the same paragraph, Account p. 16. " And now we appeal to the whole world, Whether we had not cause of uneasiness, or whether 'tis a crime in us, that we can't be satisfy'd to sit under the ministry of one, who will not own the SON OF GOD to be one GOD with the FATHER, nor worship and give glory to the HOLY GHOST as GOD at all ? " If he had added this, the world would have been sensible, that the reason why many left Mr. P. when he administred the Lord's-supper, was their apprehension that they could not with a good conscience joyn with himself. Mr. Peirce may ridicule this

scruple also; but whatever his thoughts may be, he must excuse those that are afraid to offend God, and out-brave their consciences. He should have been just in telling the world why some left him, and then the world, 'tis hop'd, would have justify'd those who did it for such an important reason. As to what he adds concerning their going to joyn with Mr. *Lavington*, &c. 'Tis a sufficient answer to say, That tho' they were not suspended, yet those that were known to have utter'd these blasphemies, either did not belong to that society, or else withdrew when it was Mr. *Lavington*'s turn to administer; as Mr. *Spring* particularly did for several months before the separation, who is charg'd with these blasphemous expressions; and there was not one of those that are charg'd directly with denying the Deity of the HOLY GHOST, but what joyn'd with Mr. P. except this Mr. *Spring*.

WHEREAS Mr. *Peirce* mentions again pag. 174, Mr. *Walrond*'s letter; to this a full answer 175. is given in Mr. *Walrond*'s reply. Vide pag. 80—84.

IN page 176, *West. Inq.* Mr. *Enty* ac- pag. 176. knowledges himself to be the person meant, and describes the case in the words follow- ing.

I desir'd the liberty of signing the first article of the Church of England, in order to clear myself of the charge of Arianism, on which Mr. P. makes this reflection: 'Tho' he, good man, knew well enough, there was no man suspected him of it. This is very imperfectly and artfully represented. I made indeed such a motion; but it was not only (I said) for my own sake, but in hope that others would joyn with me, that we might satisfy the world, that we did not deserve the charge of Arianism, that was brought against us; and also that we might hereby shew our concurrence with, and our approbation of what our brethren at London had done to the same purpose. And tho' I never gave any person the least occasion to suspect me of Arianism, yet I was nam'd (for what end they best know that did it) as

being gone into the new schisme so that my reputation was concern'd, as well as that of others.

But need not this shew that such a cause as this has made me know you better and John Enty. I have often heard by his own mouth say that he had no other end in life than to make known the truth to all men.

As to what remains of this paragraph, there is no occasion to say any thing here, Mr. Enty having consider'd it already in his *farther defence of the proceedings of the assembly.*

Tho' I am not particularly mention'd, yet Mr. Peirce there says, That the motion pag. 177. of a publick disputation was rejected. But this also is intirely false. For after I had very sincerely acknowledg'd the better abilities of many of my brethren for a publick disputation, I accepted Mr. P's challenge, and express'd my willingness that he should appoint time and place, upon this condition; that, I might chuse three or four of my brethren to join with me, and he have the same number to join with him, upon which acceptance of mine, the challenge was dropt. Indeed, I thought Exeter to be an improper place, but was willing to leave it to Mr. P. to chuse another.

John Enty.

Besides the account with Mr. Enty has given above of Mr. Peirce's challenge, Mr. Edgley (who was scribe in that assembly) gives the sum of it in the manner following.

Mr. Peirce came into the assembly and propos'd that some brethren might be appointed to keep a fast with him and others in the city of Exon, and afterwards he with others would dispute with them these two questions (1.) Whether it be in the power of any man or any body of men, to make a test for another, in any other but Scripture language? (2.) Whether there be not a supremacy in the FATHER which is hot in the SON and HOLY GHOST? (tho' Mr. P. has rightly explain'd it in West. Inq. in other words, viz. whether CHRIST is the supreme GOD?) To his proposal

proposal of keeping a fast, it was answer'd, That it is not in our power to grant it, the pulpit being in the hands of the gentlemen of Exeter. To his challenge it was answer'd, That we all disclaim'd any power to make tests for others. But as to the second question three brethren offer'd to accept his challenge, and presently debate it with himself and any other of his party before the whole assembly, who must be allow'd to be competent judges. He urg'd, that this would not satisfy the common people, to which a brother reply'd, he might have a scribe to write the whole disputation, and afterwards publish it. And another, told him, That he would meet him and dispute the matter with him at any time and place, that should be thought convenient.

Thomas Edgley.

I am the Orthodox brother referr'd to as pag. 179. boggling to thank the preacher. I own, I did not only boggle but refuse it till he explain'd some passages in his sermon which I thought too favourable to Antinomianism. This he did to the satisfaction of the assembly and mine, and having thus clear'd himself of the suspicion of Antinomianism, I did, with the rest of the assembly return him thanks, and had afterwards the thanks of several of my brethren for what I offer'd.

John Enty.

Mr. Peirce is pleased to say, the mini- pag. 179. sters many of them return'd home from the assembly very warm and furious, and preach'd against their brethren with much bitterness &c. This language is so common with Mr. P. that he calls every thing that is deliver'd against the new notion, warm, furious, and bitter. He gives us no account of these bitter expressions and very probably for this very good reason because he can't. 'Tis very well known, that those discourses have been reckon'd so, that Hank had one exasperating expression in them, and if the

the most modest defence of the doctrine of the TRINITY must have such a character because they seem to carry in them a tacit reflection on himself and brethren, who reject these Truths ; they are satisfy'd to be reckon'd such furious persons as Mr. P. would make them.

MR. Peirce speaking of the ministers which the people of Exeter, call'd in from abroad pag. 180. to preach to them during the vacancy after the ejectionment of Mr. Hallet and himself, says ; some of them behaved themselves with moderation and temper, others were furious in railing at us, some in their sermons, some in their wrathful prayers, and some in both. This is an unjust and wicked charge, and what Mr. P. is call'd upon to make good.

AND whereas Mr. Peirce says, That I went about denouncing damnation on those that differ'd from me, 'tis a malicious insinuation. I never did pronounce damnation on any merely for differing from me ; but this I have said, That there were opinions and heresies that were damnable, and that to deny the L O R D, that bought them, was of this nature. And I have farther said that I thought the heresy of which St. Peter speaks was a denying him that bought them to be ~~dearborn~~ supreme L O R D. And while this was my apprehension, it must certainly be my indispensable duty as a minister and a christian to tell men faithfully of the danger I thought they expos'd themselves to, by embracing notions of such pernicious consequence,

John Lavington.

IN the same page Mr. Peirce suggests, That by means of the ministers they were daily insulted and abus'd : Whereas, had Mr. P. done half so much to secure Truth, as Mr. Lavington particularly, hath done to promote charity, and to prevent all rudeness and indecent language, we had been a peaceable city to this day. For when he hath heard of any such, that have been guilty of rudeness and indecency, and he thought he could be useful to prevent it for the future ; he hath not fail'd to attempt

attempt it; several instances of which he can give whenever call'd for.

FROM pag. 181 to 188, there is a conti-
pag. 181. nu'd misrepresentation of the cases of some
ejected ministers, and others, whose people
(many of them) had relinquish'd them, as will be evi-
dent from the several accounts here given.

MR. Peirce having represented the case of Mr. John Cox of Kingsbridge, as transcrib'd from his own paper, *West. Inq.* pag. 81. The people of Kingsbridge give the following account, as containing the truth in relation to that affair.

'T is not without deep concern, that we were oblig'd to part with Mr. Cox, our late minister, who labour'd for a considerable time among us. For several years his ministry was very acceptable to the generality of the people; but he had unhappily fallen into the *Arian notions*, and the congregation consisting of some hundreds of souls became universally disgusted. We long had the pain to hear the proper Deity of the Great REDEEMER deny'd, and our Glorious SAVIOUR degraded into a puny subordinate GOD; not only in private conferences, but also in publick sermons. Our ancient Doxologies were laid aside, and such constantly made use of, under a pretence of being *scriptural*; in which supreme honour and glory were not given to the SON, or HOLY GHOST. Mr. Cox had formerly preach'd to us the necessity of believing, That the FATHER, SON, and HOLY SPIRIT, are the One GOD, the only Object of adoration and worship; but when our people sent some of their number in a friendly way to represent their dissatisfaction to him, one of which rememb'r'd him of the sermons he had formerly deliver'd to them upon this head: He reply'd, That he was sensible that he had asserted this doctrine; but that now *his thoughts were chang'd*, and he had entertain'd other notions about the DEITY. At this meeting, we desir'd him to give us leave to send for a few neighbouring ministers to discourse the matter in difference with him, to which (after he had objected against several) he reply'd, For what purpose will you send for them? if you think

think they will persuade me to alter my opinion, you are mistaken, for that's what I am resolv'd never to do. And with this melancholy answer, he dismiss'd them. We after this, apply'd ourselves to several worthy ministers for advice, and they directed us to wait on Mr. Cox again, and if possible agree upon some methods to satisfy the scruples and re-establish the tranquillity of the congregation. In prosecution of this advice, some of us attended Mr. Cox, and mutually agreed to summon all the people to meet in our ordinary place of worship the *Wednesday* following, which they accordingly comply'd with. This meeting was open'd with solemn prayer; after which, Mr. Cox refusing to give the people any better satisfaction than he had formerly done, ask'd them one by one, Whether they were content any longer to sit under his ministry? To which they all answer'd (four only excepted) That they were not. And of these four one of them only belong'd to the town, and he is a person who in alehouses, &c. makes the Deity of the SON, and Blessed SPIRIT, the common subject of raillery, offers to prove that CHRIST had no human soul, saith, he dearly repented that ever he taught his children the Assembly's Catechism, and had pray'd GOD to forgive him that iniquity. This meeting broke up in some confusion, and Mr. Cox said, He would never preach more in that place. Whereas it is reported, That we withdrew from Mr. Cox's ministry, only because he would not subscribe to or declare in the words of the assembly, and Mr. Cox, in the representation he has made of his case, would seem to insinuate, as if it were only because he refus'd to subscribe the first article of the Church of England, or the fifth and sixth answers of the Assembly's Catechism. 'Tis so far from being true, that we solemnly profess, 'Twas chiefly because he had declar'd himself to believe a subordination in the GODHEAD, and openly renounc'd that doctrine of the HOLY TRINITY, which he had himself preach'd to us. Neither passion nor prejudice had any hand in the management, as far as we know our own hearts. Fear of sinning against GOD, betraying the Truths of CHRIST, and wronging our own souls, were the only considerations which prevail'd with us to take this melancholy step. For this part we dare appeal to

Mr. Cox himself, who hath since said, *That he was persuaded that his people ejected him from a principle of conscience.*

Nov. 28. 1719.

Owen Waymooth,	Richard Eales,
Thomas Batson,	William Dove,
Andrew Beatt,	Roger Lock,
Matth. King,	Nathaniel King, jun.
Thomas Wakeham,	Robert King,
John Hodge, jun.	Thomas Lock,
Jonathan Philips,	Andrew Cranch.

THAT the people had the greatest reason to proceed as they did, is evident from a paper under Mr. Cox's own hand, deliver'd to one of his people long before his ejectionment, and since laid before the ministers at their fund-board in London, who upon perusing the same judg'd him to be fallen into *Arianism*, and not to merit their regard.

THE people of Newton Abbot apprehend
pag. 182, ing themselves aggrieved and injur'd by Mr.
183, 184. Gilling's account in the *Inquisition-book*, pag.
182, &c. are desirous to confute it, and vindicate themselves in this following letter to him.

Reverend Sir,

THIS publick representation of our case, tho' in our just defence, is the most melancholy work we were ever concern'd in; the consideration that you have made it necessary by publishing yours, is our apology. The sorrow we feel on this occasion is equal to the satisfaction we should have found in giving an open testimony to your soundness in the faith, could we have done it with a good conscience.

WE don't think ourselves oblig'd to take notice of your conference with Mr. Pitts *, or your proceeding

* Which yet is far from being justly represented, as appears by Mr. Pitts's certificate, before mention'd pag. 34. in answer to West. Inq. p. 41.

in the assembly, since none of these things would have mov'd us; had you not given us sufficient reasons to believe, that you disown the doctrine of the HOLY TRINITY, which we received from the sacred Scriptures and were confirm'd in under your ministry.

WHEN we found you had chang'd your Doxologies in prayer, and betray'd a mighty uneasiness at those which were commonly sung, we grew jealous of your inclination to the Arian side: but when we saw what wide, tho' artful steps, you took to undermine the proper Divinity of the SON and HOLY GHOST, we no longer doubted, there was too much truth in the common report.

SOME of us made frequent application to you for satisfaction upon this head, and generally came from you much more disturb'd in our minds than before. Having told your opinion to one of us, you desir'd him to keep it private, saying in these very words, or words to the same purpose, *That a person had suffer'd considerably for declaring his opinion.* To another, who ask'd you, *Who CHRIST is, if he be not the supreme GOD?* you roundly reply'd, *He is a superangelical BEING.* Sometimes you would tell us, *that you would not for a world declare you believ'd the answers to the 5th and 6th questions of the Assembly's Catechism to be true;* and at other times acknowledge, *you had other notions of the TRINITY than heretofore;* but refus'd to let us know what they were. At one time you demanded, *How we could prove from the Scriptures that the FATHER, SON and HOLY GHOST, are one GOD?* And when one of us repeated i John v. 7. with this addition as expressive of his sense of the text, *the same in substance equal in power and glory;* you cry'd out, *Is this Scripture? Good Lord look down in mercy upon an ignorant creature!* And at another time challeng'd us to produce one text wherein the HOLY GHOST is call'd GOD. To which we may add, that you affirm'd, *the GODHEAD of the HOLY GHOST was never so much as mention'd for several hundred years after CHRIST.* Once it must be acknowledg'd, you assur'd one of our number, to the joy of all who heard of it, that you believ'd the FATHER, SON and HOLY SPIRIT, to be the One God, but

you took care to blast all our hopes of peace the day following, when you met, and assur'd the same person, that you was not satisfy'd that one could be three, and three one.

We doubt not but these things will convince the unprejudic'd world, that you had at this time embrac'd the distinguishing doctrines of Arius, notwithstanding your labour'd concealment, and the obligation you laid upon a person, to whom you freely open'd your sentiments, never to discover them.

We were sensible that 'twas our duty to contend earnestly for the faith which was once deliver'd to the saints; and not betray the Truths of the HOLY JESUS by a sinful silence. We were persuaded that an error in doctrine of such importance as this, is a far more justifiable ground of separation, than errors on the head of ceremony or discipline: And yet we did not proceed so far as to set up a separate assembly, until we had waited long to see whether GOD would give you *repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth*; but when we found you persisted in the same dangerous opinions and had proselytyed several of your people to 'em; when our deluded neighbours were grown bold enough to tell us, that the FATHER existed some time before the SON, &c. then, but not till then, we formed a resolution to invite another minister and place ourselves under his care. Justice to ourselves and those worthy ministers, who boldly appear'd in this glorious Cause of CHRIST, commands us to make a few remarks on some other parts of your letter, before we conclude our reply.

" You tell the world that soon after the assembly " reports were spread among your hearers, that you " was an *Arian* and oppos'd the assembly, by which " some of them were prejudic'd against you. These " prejudices were kept up and increased by letters " from some of the ministers, and by the artful insinuations of some of the *Exon* gentlemen upon whom " some of your hearers had a dependance as to their " trade."

To all which we answer, That 'tis not improbable many of your people might be very much troubled at the opposition you made to those wholesome methods

the reverend assembly thought proper, to prevent the spread of such a pernicious doctrine, but then we must take leave to observe.

1. THAT no letters ever came to our hands from any minister or ministers in which there was a charge of *Arianism* preferr'd against you. Certainly, Sir, you should have been peculiarly careful not to accuse your brethren wrongfully, when you was complaining of *imaginary* hardships on yourself.

2. WE solemnly profess, that no worldly view, but an honest zeal for the honour of God our Redeemer and Sanctifier, influenc'd our proceedings in this matter. We know no reasons we ever gave you to insinuate to the world, that we are persons prepar'd to sacrifice our consciences and the peace of the church to our pockets. Such a suggestion would have been injurious and uncharitable from any other pen, but must be *intolerable* from yours, who just before, mention your sermon against rash judging. We see by this whatever offence you gave by preaching it, you are resolv'd none shall be offended with you for the practice of it.

YOUR next period informs us, " That when your name appear'd the second in the paper sign'd by twenty hards to vindicate yourselves from false accusations, the breaking your meeting was resolv'd upon, and neighbouring ministers were busy to inflame and seduce your hearers. To which we answer. "

1. THAT trifling paper, which we are inform'd you had the honour to draw up, as well as sign, was so far from being satisfactory to us, that we look'd on it rather as a slanting invective against the proper Divinity of the Son, and HOLY GHOST, and consequently a fresh evidence of your departure from the faith.

2. WE are not a little surpriz'd at your assurance in affirming, " That neighbouring ministers were very busy to inflame and seduce your hearers." Whereas there was not one neighbouring minister who advised us to

Set up a separate meeting. We challenge to ourselves the sole honour of the separation, and are content to inherit the consequences of our own choice. When you had renounc'd the faith profess'd and maintain'd by all the christian churches, we thought fit to make use of the liberty God and the laws of our country had given us, even to withdraw from your communion and call an *orthodox* minister to the care of our Souls. We desire therefore that whatever treatment you give the *first* command, you'l for the future pay a greater deference to the *ninth*. We thankfully acknowledge, that some neighbouring ministers upon our great opportunity got us *supplies*, after we had resolv'd upon a separation, and got a place of worship, but we were the *authors* of it.

MUCH of apiece with this, is your account of the Fast held in our meeting-house, you say, "To draw off more of your people and countenance the separatists; " "a fast was held among the latter," To which, we answer, Had you said, to put an end to the separation, and restore to us in one day both Truth and Peace; you would have given the world a juster account of the design of all those ministers, who were engag'd in that solemnity. The occasion of the fast was this: You had a little before made such concessions to a worthy minister, as persuaded not only himself, but several of his brethren to hope, you was come very near, if not intirely over, to the *orthodox*; upon which they resolv'd to keep a fast in this town; and, in case they found your principles and disposition, upon a conference, such as they desir'd; to contribute their kind offices to procure a good understanding between you and your people, and so reunite your congregation. Upon these views, the ministers appointed to preach, furnish'd themselves with sermons fitted to cement your broken society; but when they found you had impos'd upon their brother, and refus'd an amicable conference with them, their grief at the disappointment was very visible, and they enter'd on the work of the day with broken hearts.

YOUR account goes on, "This fast was grac'd with the presence of Mr. Horsham, Mr. Evans, Mr. Edgley, Mr. Evelcigh, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Bond, and Mr. Colton."

" Colton." We don't very much wonder you had not added to this catalogue Mr. Gilling, &c. since your whole behaviour made it evident, that the design of your attendance, was to *disgrace* it. Your writing, some part at least, of the prayers on this occasion; your tumultuous leaving the *assembly* before the work of the day was ended; your threatening to make Mr. Eveleigh ashame'd of what he had said as you pass'd through the throng; your standing afterwards in the open street, and loudly calling to ministers and people; was such a discovery of your spirit, as cover'd the faces of your friends with shame, and gave occasion to the triumph of our common enemies.

You add, " That Mr. Bond by his prayers, and Mr. Eveleigh by the application of his sermon, contributed not a little to widen the breach, and incense the people against their minister." We have reason to believe that Mr. Bond's prayer, and the application of Mr. Eveleigh's sermon, were highly approv'd by the generality of both congregations who were present; and we can't think any thing in either of 'em likely to offend you, unless the *Invocation* and *Doxology* of the first, and the unanswerable arguments for the *Deity* of the HOLY JESUS, advanc'd in the last. And we have equal reason to hope, that GOD made use of both to rectify the mistakes of some, and confirm the faith of others, who began to stagger in this hour of darkness and temptation. If invoking and adoring the HOLY TRINITY, if maintaining the Crown and Dignity of CHRIST by Scripture and argument, will widen our breaches, and incense the people against you, we rejoice at the success, and dare not so much as hope for a cure of our divisions.

We hope, Sir, you can't charge any of us with having a hand in that *load of groundless calumnies* you complain of. We think all men have a *judgment of discretion*, which GOD expects they should make use of in the matters of their salvation; that their consciences are not subject to any human tribunal; and that Scripture and reason, not persecution with the hand or tongue, are the only proper methods of conviction; and we can assure you, that we are not appriz'd that our separation from you, or carriage towards you, have been

been any ways inconsistent with these our avow'd principles : And yet we have been proclaim'd persecutors from the *press* and *pulpit*, and treated as if we were the worst of men, merely because we could not continue under your ministry for fear of offending *God*, and wounding our consciences. Had we lampoon'd and libell'd your hearers in sham letters, or abus'd and vilify'd 'em in publick markets ; had we express'd our kind wishes to see 'em whip'd from their houses to their place of worship ; or done our utmost to create a perpetual enmity between the nearest relations ; had we advis'd a husband and a fathet to turn his wife and children out of doors, because they would not worship *God* with us, or rudely assaulted and beaten any of them on the highway : In a word, had we disturb'd your congregation in the time of devotion, and loaden you with foul and scurilous language, then there would have been sufficient ground for the cry of persecution : And yet all these things have we suffer'd, not from a rude and brainless mob, but from your peculiar intimates and communicants. However, we hope, amidst all these barbarous insults, *God* will enable us not only to govern our passions, but *rejoyce* that we are accounted worthy to suffer persecution for the name of *CHRIST*. To conclude ; our most fervent prayers for a more plentiful effusion of the Spirit of wisdom, charity, and a sound mind on you and your people, is the worst you have to fear from,

Revd. Sir,

your humble servants,

Samuel Stocker,
Nicholas Langaller;

*Who have sign'd in behalf of the rest of our society,
and undertake to make good the matters of fact
above-mention'd.*

pag. 185. THAT Mr. John Force hath made an unfair representation of the case of *Bover*,

p. 185.

PL. 185. &c. as evidently will appear by the following account.

We whose names are hereunto subscrib'd being former-
ly hearers of Mr. John Force of Bovey, do in the fear and
presence of God declare, That the great reason why we
withdrew from his ministry, was because we understood
by his pulpit performances, and private conferences, that
he deny'd the proper Godhead of the SON, and HOLY
GHOST, and held them to be two Beings in nature
and perfections inferior to the FATHER. Our separation
was not rash and unadvis'd, but deliberate and serious,
after solemn prayer to GOD for direction in such an
important affair, and frequent application to Mr. Force
for satisfaction, even before he made any visits to us for
that purpose. We were present at that meeting of the
people, which he mentions in his case, publish'd by
Mr. Pearce, and humbly intreated him to let us know,
Whether he believ'd the FATHER, SON, and HOLY
GHOST, to be the One GOD? as our ancient Divines
and the whole Church of GOD according to the Scri-
ptures, have hitherto done. To which he reply'd, That
these words were the invention of men, and he would not
declare his faith in any human forms; and then deliver'd
us a long confession of his faith in Scripture words,
without any explication. But this could give us no
better satisfaction, than if he had only told us, he be-
liev'd the divine authority of the holy Scriptures. Soon
after this he proceeded to ask some questions, and
wrote down such parts of our answer to them as he
thought would best serve the mean purpose of exposing
us to the contempt of the world. We were not aware
of his design, and therefore some of us answer'd with-
out that strictness and guard we should have observ'd.
The questions were these:

1. WHETHER the sacred Scriptures were a sufficient
rule of faith: To which one of us inaccurately answer'd,
I take the Scripture for information, but I will go farther
for confirmation; meaning (as he then explain'd
himself) that not the bare words, but the sense of Scri-
pture, as far as he could gather it from the teachings of
the HOLY SPIRIT and the help of learned divines,
was the only rule of his faith.

2. WHETHER the FATHER was the SON, and the SON the FATHER? To which one answer'd in the affirmative, meaning (as Mr. Force well knew) that he and all others of us believ'd, that they were the same in nature and essence, tho' not in personality.

3. WHETHER the FATHER assum'd human nature, suffer'd and dy'd, and became our Redeemer? To which, one of us mistaking the question, and thinking it had been ask'd, Whether GOD assum'd human nature, &c. answer'd, He did believe it. This is a just account of that conference. We leave therefore the world to judge, Whether Mr. Force hath acted the part of a minister or a christian in that representation he hath made of it to the world? We thank GOD we are not so ignorant of the great fundamentals of religion, as he would fain persuade others to believe we are. Tho' were we so, 'twould be a reflection on himself, who took so little care during his ministry among us to instruct us better.

James Wotton,
William Valence,
John Beardon.

John Stidston,
John Wotton,

AND whereas Mr. Peirce, p. 185. of his pag. 186. *West. Inq.* says, we declar'd, *We could not make peace with him, (viz. Mr Force) unless he did first make his peace with the assembly.* And that, we assu'd him, That not one of us would have appear'd against him had it not been for the last assembly. We who were present at that meeting, do declare, This is a false representation; for the truth is this: We told Mr. Force, That unless he did first go and join with the assembly in the orthodox faith, we could not continue any longer under his ministry; our separation from him did not depend on the assembly's declaration, but on Mr. Force's refusal to own the same faith which the assembly profess'd, and we firmly believ'd to be contain'd in the holy Scriptures.

William Valence,
John Beardon,
James Wotton.

John Stidston,
John Wotton,

AN

AND whereas Mr. Peirce in his *West. Inq.*
 p. 185, &c. asserts, That a minister sent a letter to create a feud in the congregation at
 Bovey, &c. I, who am suppos'd to be the person thus charg'd, declare, 'tis all misrepresentation or falsehood. I acknowledge I did write a letter to the congregation at *Bovey*, but it was free from reflections of any kind, and such as I am confident any impartial person would think a minister, who had any regard to the Truth, might write to the congregation to which he was formerly related. For the writing of this letter, Mr. Force charg'd me the following assembly, with the injustice I had done him by it. I ask'd him, How it could be possible I should injure him, when I did not so much as mention his name, nor directly or indirectly reflect on him in it. He presently reply'd, *The letter had done him disservice*; and this was follow'd with bare reflections on me.

So far was it from my design to create a *feud* by this letter, that I can say, it was written purely to discharge my duty. I was a perfect stranger to the temper of the congregation, as to this particular affair; only hearing that Mr. Force should rejoice, because the congregation was of his opinion, I thought it my duty to write a few lines to them, that they might consider some arguments for what I apprehended to be the Truth: and so ignorant was I of the disposition of the people, that I sent my letter to one, who then was, and still is, a zealous advocate for Mr. Force.

THE next thing I am charg'd with (*West. Inq.* pag. 186, &c.) is, That I desir'd one of the male-contents, to write to me constantly how the matter went on against him, and soon after the conference went to Bovey, to stir up the people against him. As for my desiring one of the male-contents constantly to write to me, I am loth absolutely to deny what is so confidently asserted; but this I can say, It was far from my design to maintain a correspondence in order to promote a *feud*: And if I had so much regard to the congregation as to write a letter to them, it can't look very strange to desire one of them to write me

an account of the state of their affairs; and if there was any occasion for this charge, I am confident this was the whole. And as to my going to Bovey soon after the conference, to stir up the people against him; 'tis a very false accusation. I was indeed at Bovey about that time, but that it should be just after the conference, was intirely accidental; for I knew nothing of it: My own personal affairs call'd me thither at that time, and I carefully avoided going nigh the houses of any of Mr. Force's hearers, except where my business necessarily oblig'd me, because I would give no occasion of suspicion or uneasiness. This is a plain and true state of this affair, so far as I was concern'd in it.

Samuel Stoddon.

As to the affair of Biddiford, mention'd in Mr. Peirce's *West. Inq.* The account is judg'd pag. 187. to be so loose and general, and is so little talk'd of or regarded in the town by either side, that both parties seem'd ashame of the publication. However what Mr. P. hath offer'd, may make a few remarks necessary.

As to those people who have left Mr. Cock's ministry, they solemnly declare, That what they have done is not owing to the management or influence of others, but to principles of conscience and liberty, and to real and insuperable scruples and difficulties; Mr. Cock having resus'd to give any satisfactory answer to several of their number touching his faith, in what they account'd an important article of their religion, which they thought he had given them abundant reason to call in question by his conduct, on many accounts.

This makes them complain of great and undeserv'd injury and wrong done them by Mr. Peirce in that suggestion, which sums the account of the Biddiford-affair, as if they had given themselves up to the management or influence of others. They think it very strange, that Mr. P's notions of liberty are so much chang'd in a few years, and cannot imagine why persons may not enjoy the same liberty now, in choosing the place of their attendance and settled worship without any uncharitable reflection,

slections, as formerly they did in this town by Mr. P's particular approbation.

'Tis worthy of further remark, That one of these persons, who has now left Mr. Cock, was lately a member of the Church of England, but on principles of liberty join'd with that congregation, that has lately been under Mr. Cock's inspection; and therefore let the world judge, Whether she has not as much reason to quit Mr. Cock's communion, on account of scruples and difficulties of a much higher nature in her judgment than those on account of which she left the communion of the Church of England.

As to those little impertinent stories which Mr. Peirce has endeavour'd to give weight to, by transmitting them to posterity in his works, no other consideration would render them worthy the least notice; and we are satisfy'd if Mr. P. had been rightly appriz'd of their nature, he would never have undervalu'd and lessen'd himself by becoming the instrument of their publication.

As to the first and chief of them and that which has made so much noise abroad, and probably was alluded to in the famous paper subscrib'd by the ministers of the other side, viz. *That Mr. Cock had baptiz'd a child only in the name of the FATHER;* 'tis a story so odd, so ridiculous, and so plainly carries its own confutation with it, that it never (for ought we can find) gain'd the least credit here: a story which was much talk'd of abroad but scarce mention'd at home and which made so little noise in *Biddiford*, that the principal persons of the town were surpriz'd at its publication, and wonder'd it should be known to the world before they had it whisper'd in the same town.

Such a thing might perhaps by some odd or unaccountable mistake be talk'd of among a few persons, but sure it never obtain'd or prevail'd; and after all inquiries, we cannot trace its original here; which some think was from *Exon*, others from Mr. Cock's own people, and by a peculiar turn thrown upon the other party who took the least notice of it: So that this story must after all be dismiss'd as a piece of idle impertinent talk not worthy any man's notice or regard! But it seems any thing is thought worthy to be

be made a handle of to serve a turn, and what makes no noise at home may be made use of to make a great sound abroad.

As to what Mr. Peirce says further, That some of Mr. Cock's brethren were very busy in exasperating his people against him, insinuating to those who were satisfied with his declarations, that he had secret reserves, and that it was necessary to sift him, &c. This indefinite charge, one would think, was contriv'd on purpose to affect the reputation of all Mr. Cock's brethren. It had been but fair for Mr. Cock to have particulariz'd those of his brethren, who were so busy in exasperating his people against him, that the charge might not have fallen undistinguish'd in such a manner. Such methods of accusation Mr. P. must needs be sensible are very unfair and unjustifiable, and perhaps he would charge it upon others as too like the methods of an *Inquisition*; but if any particular minister had imagin'd, that Mr. Cock had impos'd upon his people by general confessions, and did think it adviseable for his people to ask him to speak plainly, why must the worst turn be given to this? What if that minister protests he did this in love and compassion to their souls, and from a zeal for truth and for the glory of God? Or why may not this advice instead of exasperating his people rather tend to the laying a sure and better foundation of a good understanding between them by openness and plainness, without which, it could never be long maintain'd?

As to what Mr. Peirce next offers, That one Zealous brother in the town used to declare very furiously against the nonsubscribers AS CHRIST DESPISERS, &c. And that is was better to go to a pest-house than to hear such preach. That zealous brother does not absolutely deny the charge, but only complains that Mr. P. or Mr. Cock has put in the word *nonsubscribers*, instead of *downright Arians*, which he made use of; so that here is an injury done to this zealous brother, unless the foregoing terms be allow'd to be convertible.

As to these charges which follow, of one of Mr. Cock's people, that came and discours'd with him, and went away declaring himself satisfied, and afterwards giving out the direct contrary account; and of another declaring

declaring himself satisfy'd this week, and the next without drawing from the assembly; let such answer for themselves, when personally charg'd, for we know them not.

BUT a mighty charge follows. Two of Mr. Cock's people, it's said, insisted on his subscribing an acknowledgment that the FATHER was the SON, and the SON was the FATHER, owning this to be their faith, and being surpriz'd when he endeavour'd to convince them, that this was a great error. Any one that reads this passage will be apt to think, that this was a formal demand made by some persons of consideration, and with some kind of authority too; but what will the world think of some peoples way of telling and magnifying little impertinent stories, and printing them too, if after all; this mighty matter should appear to be on'y a mistaken, and ungarded expression of a young person by Mr. C's fire side, whose unacquaint-edness with the terms of so nice a controversy led her to speak in this odd manner of the essential Union of the FATHER, and the SON? For that it was a sameness of Essence she intended, Mr. C. one would think should easily perceive from the question she immediately subjoin'd, viz. Whether he thought FATHER, SON and HOLY GHOST were three BEINGS, as they three were that sat together? (another person of the house being in company) to which she says, Mr. C. made her no direct answer; but said, That her Catechism taught her they were *three Persons*. But whereas it is represented, as if she insisted on his subscribing to the odd declaration before mention'd; she absolutely disowns it, and declares, she never desir'd Mr. C. to subscribe any thing but as the other ministers had done, which she owns she did at that time.

BUT on the whole, supposing the very worst, That this young person was mistaken both in her notions and expressions (which in such a case who can be absolutely sure) yet wherein is the world concern'd in this matter? What use can be made of such a pitiful story, or what end can it serve while on this supposition, it was only her private opinion? Is then such a piece of acknowledg'd weakness of a young person (not us'd to talk of such high matters) worth a publication to the world? How

How common is it for ordinary persons on both sides the controversy, to talk inaccurately, and be guilty of the grossest blunders and absurdities? Or would it be worth our while to publish all the nonsense and contradiction of the common people of the new scheme, which are daily venting here and elsewhere, whilst some are openly avowing there are *two God's?* Perhaps it were easy to fix and prove such charges on the new converts of Mr. C's people. But we should not judge it worth while to mention these impertinencies, only to stop the mouths of others.

THES E are to certify, the truth of the foregoing particulars, on credible evidence.

John Umbles,
William Tallamy.

FROM these certificates, it appears how
 pag. 189. partial and unjust the account is Mr. Peirce has given of the ministers that were ejected by their people in these parts, and how little credit is to be paid to it; tho' he glories in them as persons not charg'd with immoralities: Yet if deceit, prevarication, and throwing calumnies upon the honest people they once ministred to, be immoralities, the character of some of them will not be very clear. But supposing them intirely innocent in this regard; is a sober life the only or principal qualification of a Gospel minister? Ought he not to hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience? and to Contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered to the saints? Tho' vicious ministers should be discourag'd and dismiss'd; yet whilst they preach sound doctrine, its more safe to sit under their ministry than heretical ones. Our SAVIOUR cautions the disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, tho' so long as they sat in Moses's seat, i. e. deliver'd nothing but his doctrine, they were to hear what they said, and observe the commandments of the law; but not to do after their works. That these ministers acknowledge no other Master than CHRIST, was so far from being their only crime, (as he alledges) that it was none at all; but

but their crime lay, in attempting to rob him of his GODHEAD, which is the chief jewel in his Crown and Dignity, and without which, we don't see how they can safely depend on him as their LORD and MASTER. They who do this, will do well to remember him, who said, *Hail Master*, and with a kiss betray'd him. We are as willing as Mr. P. to express our charity for every sincere inquirer after Truth, and hope, if any such are in a dangerous mistake, GOD will reveal even this unto them; but we think 'tis much easier for us to know from GOD's word, what is a dangerous mistake, than to know who are sincere inquirers after Truth. Mens sincerity is a secret that lies between GOD and themselves. The holding and persisting in dangerous errors seems to be a plainer evidence to others of their insincerity, or the prevalency of some unmortified lusts, than mere professions can be of their sincerity. And if we hold any notions which the Churches of CHRIST have always look'd upon as dangerous in their nature and tendency, this in all reason should beget in us a great jealousy of our own hearts.

AFTER a long and labour'd account, Mr. Peirce at last concludes his INQUISITION pag. 190 with an appeal to the world, and a short view of the case, according to the representation he has seen fit to give of it, which are now to be consider'd.

We begin with his appeal. As to this, The ministers and gentlemen in the country, are as willing as Mr. Peirce himself, that the world shou'd judge, Whether there have been any such rash, unrighteous, or unjust part acted by them, as he pretends: And the ministers of London also, of whom he speaks; can with utmost freedom appeal to any, Whether it appears, that they animated and exasperated their brethren in the country, and are not able honestly and without blushing to answer the close question put to them. They had, in the place he cites, Narrative, p. 301 call'd it a groundless suggestion, and an aspersion wrongfully cast upon them. And what reason he hath to question the truth and honesty of this declaration of theirs, they cannot imagine; or why he should think they, (who might well, and had

honestly and without occasion of blushing, deny'd the fact insinuated) could not be able to do it in as round terms, as could possibly be invented for them. But since he will have it, that the *Narrative* pass'd the matter over slightly, and thinks it proper to transcribe and put the question anew; "Have none of them rais'd and promoted uneasinesses on purpose to drive us [the nonsubscribers at London] into methods which they had undertaken for to that side at *Exeter*, with which they are plainly found to have corresponded, and with that only?" Rather than forfeit his good graces, they do hereby plainly, fully and absolutely deny all and every part of the matter of fact insinuated in the question, i. e. They have none of them, that we know, rais'd or promoted uneasinesses at *Exeter*; nor do we know of any methods, that were undertaken for with any correspondents there; or of any design either to draw or drive into them any nonsubscribing brethren here; much less have we done on purpose any thing that can support such an insinuation.

AFTER so full an answer to this Question, heretofore sufficiently reply'd to, in the *Narrative*: The ministers concern'd, forbear expostulating with Mr. *Peirce* or upbraiding him in the manner they might well do, and for which he has given them too much provocation by this open abuse. But they chuse rather to leave this unpleasant work to himself. He must be conscious of the ill services he has endeavour'd to do them, and if he be a man of those generous principles, he would pass for in the world; he'll readily and of his own accord do every thing that they might ask or the world expect by way of satisfaction, and show the regard he has to his own honour as well as the value he has for them.

BUT tho' they can easily pass by what is personal, yet in relation to the thing in debate, 'tis hop'd they may be allow'd to make the following observation, scil. That it is very unbecoming Mr. *Peirce* so vehemently to urge a question upon the consciences of others, when if He were to be question'd upon any account, 'tis plain with what earnestness he would remonstrate against it. Had he been call'd upon to answer roundly and honestly to a question of a far more important or dangerous, ad absurdum or aliquid ad quicunq[ue] nature stances,

Set aside by such a method as would have offend'd
nature and of much greater necessity to be resolv'd; what fearful exclamations would he have made of a
popish *inquisition*, ransacking mens minds and torturing
their consciences! Tho' in this, there would be no
more of an *inquisition*, than what he has here set up
himself. Why one side should put a question and ex-
pect a round answer to it, and not the same liberty
be allow'd the other, is somewhat unaccountable.
Would Mr. Peirce or those who first fram'd this *close question* (as he calls it) have *all of them* told the world
as clearly and plainly what their sentiments are con-
cerning the most important article of our faith, as these
ministers have answer'd what has been propos'd to
them? it would have prevented our differences or at
least we should have known whereabouts we are.
'Tis strange that persons, who have declar'd with so
much zeal against *inquisitive methods*, should so far
neglect their own *principle*. This looks as if they only
advanc'd it to serve a particular turn. If they have re-
linquish'd it; and will allow the subscribing brethren
in their turn an equal privilege with themselves, they
may go on to put as many questions as they please
and be pretty well assur'd, there are none on our side
will be offend'd with them.

We come now to consider the *short view* he pre-
tends to give of the sad difference at Exon. In which
that he may make the stronger impression on his rea-
ders, he insinuates (as he hath all along throughout
his book) how very harmless he and his friends have
been in this whole affair.

THERE is nothing important in what he has offer'd,
but what hath been particularly consider'd and confu-
ted; prov'd to be either downright falsehood, a misrepre-
sentation, or nothing to the purpose.

WHAT is said of Mr. Lavington is false. It was the
arianising party that began the innovations and to them
the rumour of Mr. P's being with them in their no-
tions was first owing, who under the shelter of his
name endeavour'd to corrupt the city and neighbour-
hood with their errors. The uneasiness of the people
ought not to be imputed to Mr. Lavington, but if
when seeing his people in danger he endeavour'd to

secure them ; 'twas his honour as well as duty : And will be remember'd to his praise by those, that still have a just regard to the important truths of the christian religion.

A second falsehood in this short view is, that a minister sounded an alarm in the pulpit, who had not studied the controversy. Mr. Atkins's account (the person intended) puts this affair in a light that is not much to Mr. P's credit. *

MR. *Lavington*'s preaching up the doctrine as a fundamental is far from being a reproach, but what he did being Feb. 1716, when he did not know these notions were in *Exon*, must be without any view to the differences there. † That Mr. *Peirce* reflects on his abilities is no wonder, when 'tis his custom to treat every body almost with disdain that are in no respect inferior to himself, except in those talents ; that neither become a scholar, a minister or a christian, which none have reason to be fond of, or to envy him for. But besides, Mr. *Lavington*'s friends as they have no reason, so they never entertain'd the mean opinion of him, that Mr. P. both here and in many other places of his performance suggests. This therefore may be reckon'd a third falsehood.

THAT Mr. *Peirce* did not engage in the controversy, no one can imagine it was from any distrust of his abilities ; but he had the notions he was desir'd to oppose very near at heart, and a post in which 'tis likely he was loth to be disturb'd : And therefore would not then, venture to speak his mind, tho' now, he shews that he thinks he has an ability to overturn what he had not an inclination to support. 'Twas for want of this inclination or rather out of fondness for his new faith, that he was so remiss in gratifying the peoples desire of his appearing in defence of the truth. He studiously attempted to lull them asleep, that his friends might go on sowing their tares without disturbance.

If Mr. *Lavington* and his friends instead of calling in the London ministers, the *Devonshire* assembly, and se-

* See Mr. *Atkins*'s account in this book. † See pag. 9

ven famous *advisers*, as Mr. P. suggests; had call'd in others ever so many to their help against those, who boasted enough of their might and numbers, it had been no disparagement. Let's help indeed is sufficient to support the truth, which besides *authority* (which is no disgrace to a good cause) hath *argument*, that never has nor can be answer'd; yet it was and ever will be their honour, that they had such a concern for the faith of the gospel, which they justly thought betray'd by some of those that were set for the defence of it. And if for this reason Mr. P. was dismissed his pulpit to which he had *no right*, but what the people gave and might reassume, and had the greatest reason so to do considering Mr. P's management; he may go on to censure what was done as unjust and barbarous, and fill the world with tragical outcries, and oblige it if he think fit with another **WESTERN INQUISITION**: But if he do it under the influence of the same spirit and principles, that he has This; the good people of *Exon* won't henceforward need any other *apologist* for what they have done than Mr. P. himself.

THE treatment he complains of, has been no way owing to his being a *stranger*, but had he been always so to these parts of the kingdom; it had been much for the interest of truth and peace here. He has drawn several of his brethren into a snare, which some begin to repent of already, and others 'tis hop'd will see reason to do the same.

As to the last complaint wherewith he concludes his book, *viz.* " That one of the seven and the prime manager of all had been first secretly whispering about a report, which he has since spoken of more freely, that he [Mr. Peirce] did once deny the doctrine of the resurrection, which, he says, is as vile a calumny and as utterly false and groundless a slander as any man, himself not excepted, ever utter'd, and defies him or any of his agents to make out what he has reported, the following reply is made:

If Mr. Ball or Mr. Walrond, be the person refer'd to in this page, as some imagine, they neither of them declar'd he deny'd the resurrection of the dead in general;

general ; but said, That he argu'd against the resurrection of the same body. And therefore what they or either of them reported, was not a false and groundless story, but the truth, as is further confirm'd by the following certificate.

AS to what Mr. Peirce calls in the end of his book a vile calumny, That he was reported to deny the resurrection. This is misrepresented : For it was not his denying the resurrection in general ; but his disputing against the resurrection of the same body, that he was charg'd with ; which only in propriety of speech is a resurrection. Mr. Cox, a great friend of his, disputed against it also at Mr. Lavington's, and said, he would not sign that article of the Church of England, without his own explication. And honest Mr. Beadon, as Mr. Peirce calls him, hath been also upon the same argument with some of his hearers, as they are ready to attest. Passion might make Mr. Peirce forget himself, for he was very warm, (in Mr. Walrond's house) and demanded, What Scripture we could bring to prove the resurrection of the body ? Mr. Walrond brought 1 Cor. xv. 43. It is sown in dishonour, it is rais'd in glory, &c. and ask'd, Whether it were not the same I T that was sown, which should be rais'd ? He likewise urg'd. Phil. iii. 21. Who shall change our vile body, &c. But Mr. Withers brake off the discourse, saying, Our meeting was not about this matter.

John Ball.
I attest the truth of the above certificate, John Walrond.

It appears from the remarks now made upon Mr. Peirce's Summary, that he has given an unfair representation of the case. Wherefore the reader in order to form the better judgment of the whole, may expect an account on the other side, which is this :

Mr. Peirce before he came to Exon was settled in his present erroneous opinion of the doctrine of the TRINITY. The springs of the sad difference lay farther back than some will allow them. Several it seems had a good while before, espous'd Arian notions ; one occasion of it, might be the reading some late books, which how they were recommended

recommended to them, or came into their hands, does not appear. Those who by reading these books took the liberty to differ from the common doctrine of the TRINITY, were some of them Mr. Hallet's pupils, design'd for the ministry * ; and among the common people, there were some, who were too fond of their notions not to propagate them, and too noisy and talkative to conceal them.

By what means the discovery was first made of Mr. Peirce's inclinations this way, remains a secret. But sooner was this perceiv'd, than the *Arianising party*, and not the other side, blew the trumpet and began the disturbance; hoping to get their notions to obtain by the influence of Mr. P's name, and that now they should carry all before them.

It could not but give great concern to many judicious and serious christians to see their religion insulted blasphem'd and attack'd in its chief article, who dreaded the consequences of it. They were soon convinc'd, by the swift progress this error made, of the necessity of appearing in defence of the common faith.

WHEN Mr. Peirce and others were apply'd to by some of these persons, who thought it the proper busines of their ministers to engage in defense of this great cause; the cold reception they met with, and the manner in which this matter was manag'd instead of giving satisfaction increas'd their uneasinesses. †

THEIR finding Mr. Peirce so cold, and the other party taking encouragement, and giving out, that the ministers [in Exon] were in their notions, and many in London, who would soon declare themselves; and these going on now in a more bold and open manner to spread their errors far and near; it caus'd those who had their religion at heart, to call upon those ministers who adher'd to the ancient doctrine, to enter upon the proper measures by which the common faith might be publickly asserted and maintain'd.

THE persons apply'd to, tho' deeply concern'd at the sad posture of affairs, resolv'd, however, to act with all
speed.
 Page 27, 36. ¶ Page 34, 46.
 Second mea-

the slow steps, caution, and tenderness, that was possible; and to try first, what could be done to remedy these evils in private, and not without the most apparent necessity to enter upon any publick methods.

THEIR attempts this way not succeeding, and the error still spreading like a pestilence; serious people grew impatient, and began to blame, and even upbraid their ministers for neglecting their duty, whose consciences thereupon constrain'd them to appear in a more publick manner; and having consulted others of their brethren in divers parts, several of them agreed to propose at the meeting of their *assembly*, Sept. 1718 *. the making a voluntary declaration of their faith; nor did they this, without first acquainting Mr. Peirce, &c. of their design to make that motion †.

THIS was much oppos'd by Mr. Peirce and his party, who us'd all their arts to prevent it; whereupon matters open'd apace and it too plainly appear'd, that the reports spread of Mr. P. were not without foundation.

MR. Peirce's declaration in the *assembly* and his managements there, and afterwards his and Mr. Hallet's forbidding the *Doxologies* † to be sung, and the latter having for a good while alter'd his accustom'd *Doxologies* at the end of his prayers, greatly increas'd the peoples dissatisfaction.

THEY thought they had the greatest right to know the faith of their ministers, and accordingly apply'd to them in a christian and respectful manner, praying they would satisfy them in this great point, which they refusing to do in any of the ways propos'd, nor doing it in any other way that would have satisfy'd them, but instead thereof one of them [Mr. Peirce] expressing himself much to their dissatisfaction, it fill'd them with the greatest concern and perplexity.

VERY desirous they were of peace, and loth to break with their ministers, to whom they were nor wanting in their respects; but being at a loss what

steps

* See pag. 80.

† See pag. 55.

† Vide *Citizens Defence of their Account*; p. 8. And p. 91. of this Answer.

steps to take for the preservation of Truth, they wrote to London desiring the advice of some ministers there, how to behave themselves in this critical juncture: These excusing themselves for several reasons given in their answer, * they apply'd to some of the elder ministers in their neighbourhood, who at their desire had a meeting at *Exon*; and after earnest prayer to God, and hearing what they had to say in relation to their ministers, took several hours consideration and debate to come to the three resolutions following.

1. THAT there are some errors in doctrine, which are sufficient ground for the people to withdraw from their ministers.

2dly, THAT the denying the true and proper Divinity of the SON of GOD, viz. That He is One GOD with the FATHER, is an error of that nature; contrary to the holy Scripture and common faith of the reformed Churches.

3dly, THAT when so dangerous an error is industriously propagated to the overthrowing of the faith of many, we think it the indispensable duty of ministers, who are set for the defense of the Gospel, earnestly to withstand it; and to give reasonable satisfaction to their people of their soundness in the faith. And we likewise recommend to the people, as their duty, To hold fast the Truth in love; avoiding anger, clamour, and evil-speaking; and to behave themselves with all sincerity and meekness, as becometh Christians.

THESE were not given to the people till a considerable time after, while they were consulting other brethren in divers parts, who signify'd their approbation of them. They were then deliver'd to them as general rules, to be made use of as they thought fit.

THOSE concern'd, having maturely consider'd these advices, having also in vain us'd their utmost endeavours in private to obtain satisfaction from their ministers, and finding how error gain'd ground under the shelter

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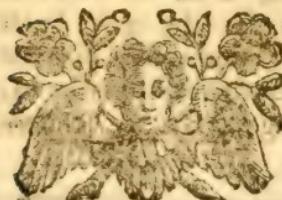
* *Narrative*, p. 24, 25.

of their names, they saw they could not consistently with the duty they ow'd to the most important Truths and the regard they ought to have to their own safety, commit themselves any longer to their instruction and care. Wherefore those who had the management of the affairs of the congregation, and afterwards a vast majority of the people concurring with them ; found it necessary, however grievous it was to them, to dismiss them from officiating as their ministers.

WHAT he says in his pasted *Postscript*, has been answer'd already, in p. 90.

THUS we have gone through Mr. Peirce's famous performance, *The WESTERN INQUISITION*, which from the beginning to the end, appears to be a composition full of heat and anger, of great uncharitableness, misrepresentations and falsehoods ; besides the corrupt mixtures there are in it of many dangerous errors in doctrine ; by which he has fully prov'd himself to be what the people apprehended him. And upon a serious review, we cannot but think the impartial part of mankind will conclude, That he endeavour'd to deceive and impose upon the good people of Exeter as long as he could ; and when he could do it no longer, he now insults and abuses them. If that which breaths in this and his other writings be the temper and spirit of *Anism*, we must say it is a temper vastly different from the true spirit of the Gospel.

F I N I S.



(25)

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M. DCC. XXI.





MICAH vi. the latter part of v. 9.

Hear ye the Rod, and who hath appointed it.

I N the preceding Verses of this Chapter, God, by his Prophet *Micah*, upbraids the *Jews* with their disingenuous Carriage towards him, from whom they had receiv'd so many Favours. He appeals even to their own Reasons for the Equity of his Proceedings, and the Perverseness of theirs. *O my* Ver. 3. *People, what have I done unto thee? Wherein have I wearied thee? testify against me.* What intolerable Burthen have I ever laid upon thee? What unreasonable Thing have I required of thee? I defy the most peevish and discontented of you all, to give one Instance of an unjust Severity and Rigour. Having expostulated the Matter with

with them, he proceeds to advise them how to demean themselves, when his impending Judgments were, like a Rod, shaken over their guilty and provoking Heads. This Counsel is addressed to them in the Words of my Text:

Hear the Rod, and who hath appointed it. In which Words you may take notice of these two Parts.

1. Here are some things suppos'd, or taken for granted; *viz.* That God's Judgments upon a Nation are a Rod; that this Rod is in his Hand, he appoints and directs it: That it has a Voice which commands our Attention.

2. Here is a Duty inferr'd, *Hear ye the Rod, &c.*

1. 'Tis supposed, or taken for granted, that national or particular Judgments are God's Rod. Various are the Dispensations of Divine Providence. Various the Methods which he takes to awaken a secure and careless World. He instructs us, sometimes by his Word, and sometimes by his Rod: Sometimes by the Messengers he employs, and sometimes by the Judgments he inflicts. When Persons grow unmind-

ful of their God and Duty, he makes himself known to the Children of Men by terrible Things in Righteousness. He hath a corrective, smarting Rod, with which, he chastises the Frowardness and Peevishness of his own Children: He hath also a Rod of Iron, with which he rules rebellious Nations, and dashes them in pieces like a Potter's Vessel. *I am the Man that hath seen* Lam. iii. 1. *Affliction by the Rod of his Wrath*, says the Prophet in the Name of the Jewish Church. God's Rod lay very heavy upon their Shoulders, when this Complaint was made. Their Land was ravaged by a proud, victorious Enemy: Their choice young Men were slain with the Sword; their Nobles bound in Chains, and their Princes in Fetters of Iron. *Jerusalem*, that was once great among the Nations, and Princess among the Provinces, lay buried in its Dust, and entomb'd in its own Ruins. So that they were smarting under the Rod of God's Indignation. God calls *Affyria* the Rod of Isa. x. 5. *his Anger*: He made use of that ambitious, cruel Nation to avenge the Quarrel of his broken Covenant; and to execute his Wrath upon a perfidious, ungrateful People.

Again, as Judgments are a Rod, so 'tis in God's Hand, at his Appointment, under his Management and Direction. There is

no Evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it. By which we are to understand, the Evil, not of Sin, but of Affliction. He kills, and he makes alive ; he wounds, and he heals, and in all those Instances he acts as an uncontrouled Sovereign. The Calamities which private Persons, or publick Societies may labour under, are the Results, not of a blind Chance, or giddy Fortune, but of an over-ruling Providence, and wise Counsel. The Sword or Pestilence cannot destroy without a Divine License and Permission.

And as Judgments are a Rod in God's Hand, so 'tis supposed that this Rod hath a Voice, or else we should be under no Obligation to hear it. Which leads me to

2. The second Thing observable in these Words ; and that is the Duty inferr'd, *Hear ye the Rod* : Or, in other words, consider what God calls you to, by the Afflictions with which he visits you. And here, that I may accommodate my Discourse to the present Posture of Affairs, I shall entertain you with this following Method.

I. I shall consider in what Instances God by his Rod or Judgments may be said to be calling to us this Day.

II. What

II. What are the Duties God calls us to, or what are the Lessons his Dispensations seem calculated to instruct us in.

III. Conclude all with some practical Inferences.

I. I shall consider in what Instances God by his Rod or Judgments may be said to be calling to us this Day.

1. God's Rod may be considered as calling to us in the Perplexity of our Affairs at home. What an unexpected Turn have they taken within these few Months past? How miserably are they this Day embarrassed? Commerce decays and languishes; and Publick Credit hath receiv'd a dreadful Shock. The Stagnation of Trade in the *Body Politick*, like that of the Blood and Spirits in the *Body Natural*, threatens the whole with terrible Convulsions, if not with a total Dissolution. How many wealthy Families have been impoverished? How many industrious Artificers have nothing else to do but to hang their Instruments *upon the Willows*; and instead of *Sion's Songs*, to hear the Cries of their half famish'd Children? And how are our wisest State Phy-

sicians nonplus'd to find out a Remedy adequate to the Disease ?

God's Rod may be considered as calling to us in that dreadful Pestilence which rages in our neighbouring Nation. This, like a black Cloud, hangs hovering over our Heads, and God only knows, how soon it may break in Pieces about our Ears. That Angel, which stands with a drawn Sword over *France*, waits only for a Divine Commission to step over into *England*. The Plague is a Rod in God's own Hand : When he inflicts this Judgment, he makes not use of Men to be the Instruments of his Wrath,

Lev. xxvi. as in War and other Cases. *When you are*

25. *gathered together in your Cities, I will send the Pestilence among you,* saith the Lord.

And who can save, if he gives it a Commission to destroy ? 'Tis compar'd, by

Pf. xcvi. 5. *the Psalmist, to an Arrow that flieth by Day.*

To which I may add, that 'tis an Arrow taken out of God's Quiver ; and if he lets it fly, there is no Armour Proof against it. If he bids this Enemy go, it scales the highest Walls, leaps over the widest Trenches, breaks thro' the strongest Guards, routs and disperses the best disciplin'd and most compacted Armies. The Pestilence indeed is said to *walk in Darkness*; but it derives

from

derives its destructive Force and Efficacy from the *Father of Lights*. From him comes down, not only every *good and perfect Gift*, but every terrible, amazing Judgment. 'Tis a Sword weilded by Omnipotence it self, and when 'tis drawn forth against any People, who can express the Terror and Consternation it carries with it, and is the Occasion of? But of this more largely hereafter. I come now to

II. The second general Head, which is to consider what the Rod of God calls us to, or what are those Lessons, which his Judgments seem calculated to instruct us in. And if we consider these Judgments as gone forth against us in the Decay of Trade, and the Ruin of publick Credit, they seem to call upon us,

i. To observe the Shallowness of all human Counsels. We have seen Men, famous for their Subtilty and Cunning, eminent for their Sagacity and Foresight, exquisitely skill'd in all the dark Intrigues of State: We have seen such as these ruin'd in'd by their own Projects, confounded by their own Schemes, and impoverished by those very Methods which they made use of to enrich themselves. Their Mountain hath been shaken by an Earthquake when

when they thought it strongest. 'Twould be neither decent nor human for us in a private Station, to insult, or trample upon any of those unhappy Persons, whose ill Conduct hath drawn upon them the Resentments of an injured Nation, and who are in the Hands of publick Justice, where it becomes us to leave them. But surely, we may be allow'd to say, that by this Dispensation God loudly calls to us in the Words Jer. ix. 23. of his ancient Prophet : *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, let not the wise Man glory in his Wisdom, let not the rich Man glory in his Riches ; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord that exerciseth Loving-kindness, Judgment and Righteousness.* How easily can God infatuate the wisest Politicians, and turn the Counsels of an *Achitophel* into Foolishness ? Experience, as well as Scripture, may inform us, that 'tis not the Activity and Wit of Man, but the Blessing of God that maketh rich, and addeth no Sorrow with it. Men may contrive with Prudence, and execute with Vigour, and yet their Designs may prove abortive. Ten thousand Accidents may intervene, which they are neither able to foresee, nor to prevent. God hath convinc'd this Nation by sad Experience, how dim, and short-sighted those Eyes are which yet pretend

pretend to the greatest Penetration. I make no question, but many wise Men and true Patriots were heartily persuaded, that the Scheme laid down about twelve Months since, for lessening the National Debts, would have answered that noble End: But we see, that by the Avarice of some, the Credulity of others, and the just Judgment of God upon a provoking People, the quite contrary has happened: and the publick Incumbrances have been increas'd by the Methods propounded to reduce them. This may convince us, that the profoundest Judgments are very shallow, that no Design form'd *without*, as well as *against* the Lord, will ever prosper; and that the best concerted Measures will certainly miscarry unless he succeeds them.

2. God's Judgments this Day upon us seem intended to let us see the unsatisfactory Nature of all worldly Enjoyments. This is another Lesson we should learn by that Rod that is upon our Backs. Have we not seen the Observation of the wise Man verified? *He that loveth Silver shall not be satisfied with Silver, nor he that loveth abundance with increase.* The heap-<sup>Eccles. v.
10.</sup>ing up of Wealth on a greedy Mind, is like pouring Oyl upon the Fire, which, instead of extinguishing, feeds and increas-

ses the Flame. Had our late Managers been content, I will not say with moderate, but with very considerable Gains, their Reputation might have been safe, their Consciences easy, and this Nation, instead of being the Jeſt, might have been the Envy of all its Neighbours: But by grasping immense Treasures, by aiming at such prodigious Acquisitions, as were never heard of in any Age before, they have brought down Infamy, if not Ruin, upon their own Heads, and a terrible Calamity upon the whole Kingdom. If we reflect upon the Transactions of the last Year, we shall find, that they were most eager in the Pursuit of Wealth, who had least occasion for it. No Eye more greedy than that which *stood out with Fatness*. No Heart more enlarr'd in its Desires, than his who possessed more than he could reasonably wish for. They who enjoy'd the greatest Estates were as forward as any to make Additions to their vast Heaps. Hence it came to pass, that in the late general Infatuation, and Scramble for Gold and Silver, the Sons of Nobles did not disdain to mingle with such as sprang from Dung-hills; nor Stars and Garters to converse with Brokers and Stock-jobbers. In one Word, the universal Hurry this Nation was lately in, when Persons of all Ranks
were

were upon the Hunt for Riches, proclaims the unsatisfactory Nature of all worldly Enjoyments.

3. God's Rod instructs us also in the precarious, uncertain Nature of earthly Treasures : Experience as well as Scripture tells us, that *Riches make themselves* ^{Prov.} *Wings, and fly as an Eagle towards Heaven,* ^{xxiii. 5.} for a new Disposal of them. How many wealthy Traders have been impoverished by the unexpected Turn of Affairs? How many flourishing Families have been reduc'd to narrow Circumstances, if not extreme Penury ? They that were once ready to *give*, are now under a Necessity of *receiving* : And their own Eyes have seen *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit* engraven upon what they thought most durable and lasting. Nay, how many have lost the *Substance*, in catching at a *Shadow*, and parted with good substantial Farms upon the firm *Ground*, in order to build Castles in the *Air*? How many have had their Teeth set on Edge by those sowre Fruits which spring from that which is the *Root of all Evil*? And by *hasting to be rich*, have (according to Solomon's Prediction) discovered *an evil Eye*; and ^{Prov.} *brought down Poverty upon themselves.* ^{xxviii. 22.} God had formerly told us by his *Word*,

C that

that the *Fashion of this World passeth away*: And now he hath loudly proclaimed this Truth in our Ears, by the awakening Voice of his *Rod*. By this he tells us, that all Things here below are subject to Vicissitudes and Changes, and that if we act as become wise Men, much more as sincere Christians, we shall seek for something more real and substantial than what this World is able to afford us.

4. God's Judgments also call upon us to secure for our selves those Riches that can be never taken from us: or, in the Words of our blessed Saviour, to *lay up for our selves Treasures in Heaven*. Treasures that will survive the Ruins of the World, the Envy of Time, and the dismal Conflagration of all Things. Treasures that will not perish or decay, when the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat, when the Earth and all that therein is shall be burnt up with Fire. Notwithstanding all the Disappointments you have met with, all the Straits and Difficulties you labour under, you may obtain a Title to those Riches, which Thieves and Robbers cannot plunder, which Knaves and Cheats cannot defraud you of. God, by his Dispensations, seems to speak to his Churches in *England* now,

now, as he did to that of *Laodicea* formerly; *I counsel thee to buy of me Gold*^{Rev. iii.}
tried in the Fire, that thou mayst be rich,^{18,}
and white Raiment that thou mayst be clothed, that the Shame of thy Nakedness do not appear. The poorest, the meanest of you all may make this advantageous Purchase, if you are not wanting to your selves. Not that you can give an Equivalent, or valuable Consideration for present Grace, or future Glory: But these may be procured by you, upon the Account of Christ's Merits, and by the Assistance of his Spirit. And this is the Improvement which both Rich and Poor should make of the present Dispensations of Divine Providence. When you hear of some who have been *burnt*, of others who have been *bubbled* out of their well furnished Houses, you should be excited to seek for a *City which hath Foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.* When you see Men lose their Estates by other's Knavery, their own Folly, or by the Providence of God; your great Concern should be to secure to your selves a Title to *an Inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.* How cautious and wary should we be, when we see others prick their Fingers by grasping the World with too much Eagerness? The Disappoint-

ments which so many of our Countrymen have lately met with in their Affairs, should suggest to us such Thoughts as these. Shall I pant after the *Dust of the Earth*, when I have seen others almost choak'd, by swallowing it with too much Greediness? The Prediction of St. Paul hath been fulfilled in my Sight. *They that will be rich run into a Snare, and pierce themselves thro' with many Sorrows.* And shall I suffer my self to be transported by the same unreasonable Passion? Shall I disquiet my self in vain? Disturb and vex my Soul in the Pursuit of what I am not sure to keep one Moment longer? Shall I trust in those Riches which are so uncertain? No; I am resolv'd, through the Assistance of Divine Grace, to chuse Heaven for my Portion; let others contend and scramble for larger Shares of this dirty Earth.

8 Tim. vi. 9, &c.

I come next to enquire what Lesson God seems to be teaching us, by his Rod laid upon a neighbouring Nation. And here

1. His Judgments call upon us to fear, and stand in Awe of his dreadful Majesty. By terrible things in Righteousness he makes himself known to the Children of Men. He discovers himself to be an holy, a Sin revenging

venging God. *The Lion hath roared, who Amos iii.
will not fear? The Lord hath spoken, &c.* 8.

If the Lion roars the Beasts of the Forest tremble, afraid of being torn in pieces by a superior Power: And should not rational Creatures be more concern'd when an Omnipotent God gives signal Instances of his Displeasure, against a profane and wicked Generation? Shall not we tremble when he lets fly his poisoned Arrows, and fixes them in the Bosom of our Fellow Mortals? When he empties Towns and Cities of their Inhabitants, when the devouring Pestilence seizes upon one Town, one Village after another, notwithstanding all the Precautions that can be used, deriding the Skill of the Physicians, eluding the Force of Medicines, and triumphing over all the Methods made use of to put a Check unto it? Should we not in such a Day as this is cry out with the *Psalmist*, *My Flesh* Psal. cxix.
trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid 120.
of thy Judgments? God expects we should not stand unconcern'd Spectators of the Calamities which others groan under. Give me leave to address my self to you in the Words of the Prophet, *A Voice of Noise* Isa. lxvi. 6.
from the City, a Voice from the Temple,
a Voice of the Lord that rendreth Re-
compence to his Enemies. We have had a Voice from *Poland, Sweden, and Den-*
mark

mark formerly, and now a Voice from *France*, that sounds louder than any of the former. And shall not this awaken a secure and sinful Nation? Shall not this rouse us out of our Stupidity and Carelessness? At his Rebuke the Mountains quake, and the Hills tremble: and shall our Hearts remain more hard, more unrelenting than the very Rocks? Shall our Ears be stop'd against that awful Voice, which Winds and Seas, and all the raging Elements do chearfully obey? Tho' we cannot understand *the Thunder of his Power*, we should dread the Thoughts of being crush'd and confounded by it. If we will not fear this great and terrible Name, the Lord our God, nothing can be expected, but that he should make our Plagues wonderful. That Cup of Trembling which is put into the Hands of a neighbouring Nation, is not design'd by Providence to be a stupifying Potion to us or them.

2. This Judgment lets us see the utter Inability of any People to secure themselves when God has a Controversy with them. If any Nation could promise it self Security, *France* is that Nation; a rich and populous Kingdom, its Members compacted and knit together: A very great part of it is wash'd, and consequently defended by

by the Sea: and its Frontiers by Land are secured by a strong Barrier; by well fortified Towns and numerous Garrisons. But what doth all this avail when God hath a Controversy with them? What Shield can protect them from the Arrows shot out of his Quiver? If he speaks the Word, the very Air we breath in shall convey Poyson to our Lungs, or the Ground we tread on shall open its greedy Jaws, and swallow us up alive. He can make Frogs, Lice and Locusts, the most despicable Insects, to become the Executioners of his just Wrath and Vengeance. *God came from Teman*, Hab. iii. 5. *and the Holy One from Mount Paran; before him went the Pestilence, and burning Coals were under his Feet.* If the Lord of Hosts gives it a Commission, no Bars or Gates can hinder it from entring into a City: It triumphs over the Art of the Wise, and the Power of the Mighty. No keeping this Enemy at a distance, no driving it from our Gates.

3. This Judgment farther calls upon us to try and examine our selves. *Let us* Lam. iii. 40. *search and try our Ways, and turn unto the Lord our God.* We are apt to censure others; but how few judge and condemn themselves. We are ready to exclaim against the Hypocrify of one, the Profane.

Profaneness of another, the Avarice and Knavery of a third Person. But where is the Man that bewails the Deadness and Hardness of his own Heart, or the Unprofitableness of his Life? Where the Man that lays his Hand upon his Bosom, and propounds these serious Questions to his own Conscience? What have I done? How much have I contributed to the common Stock of Guilt? How much Weight have I added to the pulling down God's Judgments upon a sinful Nation? How much Fuel have I heaped up to the inflaming his Vengeance against us? What Hand have my Sins had in widening the Breach betwixt the King of Heaven and the Land of my Nativity? These, my beloved, are seasonable and awful Questions; and such as the present Posture of Affairs seem to call for. If we have not the same Sins with our Neighbours, who are smarting under God's Rod, yet ours are of a very provoking Nature, and cloath'd with more aggravating Circumstances. They are plunged in superstitious Errors; but do not we hold the *Truth in Unrighteousness!* They worship Creatures, and are not we defective in that Homage and Adoration that is due to the great Creator? We abhor their *Idols*; but do we not commit *Sacrilege?* Robbing God of that Time, Strength

Strength and Vigour which ought to be devoted to, and employed in his Service. They are bigotted, and it may be, some of them, bloody, cruel Papists; and how many amongst us are debauch'd and vicious Protestants? And it becomes us to enquire, whether we are not of their Number. In such a Day as this, let us deal impartially with our own Souls. 'Tis such a Conduct as this, that the great Lord of the Universe expects and requires; as we may learn from his own Word. The Sword is without, and the Pestilence within —

But they that escape of them shall be on Ezek. vii. *the Mountains, like Doves of the Valleys,* 16. *all of them mourning, every one for his Iniquity.* Would every Man sweep his own Doors the Streets would soon be clean: would every Man lament and reform what is amiss in his own Management, we should quickly see Religion look with a more cheerful Aspect through our Land. Let us not be so vain as to conclude that we are better because we fare better than our Neighbours. What our Saviour said to the Jews formerly, may with a little Variation be applied to us now. *Those eighteen on whom* Luke xiii. *the Tower of Siloam fell and slew, think you that they were sinners above all that dwell in Jerusalem?* I tell you nay, but except you repent you shall all likewise

D perish.

perish. So may I say, do you think that the Inhabitants of *Dantzic* and *Copenhagen*, *Stockholm* and *Hamburgh* amongst the Protestants; or the Inhabitants of *Warsaw*, *Aix* and *Marseilles* amongst the Papists have been greater Sinners than the Inhabitants of *London* and *Exon*? I must tell you, that you have no Warrant to draw such an Inference as this, from the Plagues which they have *felt*, and we have hitherto *escap'd*: But I am authoriz'd to assure you, in the Name of my great Lord and Master, that unless you repent, you will all sooner or later perish. It becomes us

Eccles. vii. therefore in *this Day of Adversity to consider.*

4. God further calls upon us by his Rod to reform whatever, upon a strict Examination, we find to be amiss. *When thy Judgments are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteousness.* That is, they will do so, if they act as becomes reasonable Creatures, and answer the Design of God's providential Dispensations. This is what he expects and loudly calls for. Thus he expresses himself by one of his Prophets; *I have cut off the Nations, their Towers are desolate, I have made their Streets waste, their Cities are destroyed, without Inhabitant.*

7.eph.iii.6.

bitant. *I said surely they will fear me, they will receive Instruction.* The Shipwreck of others should make us cautious how we dash against the same Rock. That Rod which lies so heavy on our Neighbours Backs should have a humbling Influence upon our Hearts and Lives. Divine Providence calls upon us this Day to hear and fear, and do no more so wickedly. *Because I will do this unto thee,* pre-Amos iv. *pare to meet thy God, O Israel; viz. in* ^{12.} *a Way of Repentance and Reformation.* When God would paint out the Sin of *Judah* in its most odious Colours, he mentions this as a very aggravating Circumstance: *Thy Sister Sodom was not mentioned by thee in the Day of thy Pride.* q. d. Thou tookest no Warning by those tremendous Judgments which I inflicted upon that rebellious City: Thou hast repeated the same Crimes which laid that Town in Ashes; and been guilty of the same detestable Impurities, which brought down Fire and Brimstone upon the Heads of its deprav'd Inhabitants.

5. God's Judgments inflicted upon others, call upon us, to admire the distinguishing Mercy of God in sparing us to this very Moment. 'Tis Mercy, not Merit, that hath made such a visible Distinction betwixt

England and her Sister Nations. If we are more *healthy*, 'tis not because we have been less *sinful*: 'Tis not for want of Provocations received *from us*, that the Hand of God is not stretched out *against us*. Instead of making others Warnings unto us, he might have made us a Warning unto them. We have abus'd our Mercies, and 'tis a Wonder that a jealous God has not depriv'd us of 'em. We have rioted, and grown wanton in our green Pastures, and he might justly hedge up our Way with Thorns and Briars. How justly might Death ride triumphant in those Streets, in which the Majesty of Heaven is so frequently, so daringly affronted? We have only tasted some few Drops of his Displeasure, whilst the full Viols of his Wrath have been poured down upon our Neighbour's Heads. He hath only laid his Finger upon us, whilst others have been crush'd with the Weight of his whole Loins. This is the Lord's doing, and it should be marvellous in our Eyes. If our Air be not fill'd with pestilential Vapours, 'tis not because it has not been polluted with Oaths and Blasphemies. If the Ground on which we tread, be not strewed with our Carcasses, and drench'd with our Blood, 'tis not because it has not been burdened by our Impieties. We have Reason therefore to

to cry out with the Psalmist, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy Name do we give Glory.*

6. This Rod calls upon us to be fervent and frequent in our Supplications to the Throne of Divine Grace. Pray we should for the Provinces under God's afflicting Hand, that he would make them sensible of what they have done amiss. Particularly, in pulling down his Temples, in banishing his faithful Ministers, and persecuting such of his People, as dared not to worship the Creature instead of the Creator. I know, it becomes not us to interpret Divine Providences according to our own Fancies, since there is one Event to the Good and to the Bad. However it may not be amiss to observe, that the Plague began in a Town where hundreds of Protestant Confessors had been dragging of their Chains: *Marseilles* being the usual Harbour where the *French* King kept his Gallies, to which many of those Christian Heroes were condemn'd, of whom the World was not worthy, and in which they endured inexpressible Hardships. May we not reasonably suppose that many of the Souls of those brave and generous Sufferers are now under the Altar, crying out, *How long, O Lord holy and true, dost thou not judge*

judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth? Would to God that the Persons concern'd would lay these things to Heart, and repent of their blind, malignant Zeal: considering how tenderly Christ resents the Injuries that are done to his Members; how he feels the Weight of their Chains, and the Smart of their Wounds, and sympathises with them in all their Afflictions.

But in an especial manner, let us pray for the Land of our Nativity, that God would keep the Plague at a Distance from our Habitations: that we may not pledge them in that deadly bitter Cup of which they have drunk so very deep. This is what we are directed to by the Prophet

Joel ii. 15, Joel. Blow the Trumpet in Sion, sanctify a Fast, call a solemn Assembly: Let the Priests, the Ministers of the Lord, weep between the Porch and the Altar, and let them say, Spare thy People, O Lord, and give not thine Heritage to Reproach. When God's Hand is lifted up, he expects that we should lie prostrate at his Feet. When his Rod is shaken over our Heads, he expects to find us upon our Knees. 'Tis but reasonable he should hear *from* us, when he is loudly calling *to* us. This is a Method we are directed to, by the Example

Example and Success of Pious Moses. Take Num. xvi.
a Censer (says he to Aaron the High-Priest) and put Fire therein from the Altar, and go quickly into the Congregation; for there is Wrath gone out from the Lord, the Plague is begun: And Aaron did so, and stood between the living and the dead, and the Plague was stayed. ^{46.} O that we could cry mightily to our God this Day! That our Prayers might come up before him as Incense, and the lifting up of our Hands as the Evening Sacrifice! Then might we hope that he would appoint to us Salvation for Walls and Bulwarks. Let us cry and sigh for the Abominations of the Land in which we live. Whilst others, by their Impieties, are widening the Breach, and letting in an Inundation of Misery upon us, let us stand in the Gap, and by our fervent Supplications, endeavour to turn away Wrath from our *Israel*. When the Land of *Judah* was in Danger of God's Judgments, by reason of the horrid Depravation of their Morals, we read, *The Lord saw there was Isa. lix. 16.* no Man, and wondred there was no Intercessor. Their Silence and Stupidity in these Circumstances was Matter of Astonishment and Wonder.

7. The last Duty we seem to be summoned unto by the Providence of God, is to be in a Readiness for the coming of our great Lord. If the Plague should spare us, it can't be long before some Distemper or other will prove fatal to us. Let us therefore give all *Diligence to make our Calling and Election sure*: to secure to ourselves an Interest in the Blood and Merits of our dear Redeemer. And then we shall not be afraid of evil Tidings, when our Heart is fixed trusting in the Lord. We may then see Light, though the *Pestilence walks in Darkness* round about us: And be safe, though Destruction wasteth at Noon Day. Come Sword, come Pestilence or Famine, we need not be dismay'd or cast down. Tho' our Carcasses should lie unburied in the Streets, 'tis no great matter, if our Souls are safe in *Abraham's Bosom*. Though our Relations and Acquaintance should keep at a Distance from us: Tho' we should have no Friend near us, to close our dying Eyes; we shall have a Guard of Angels, to convey us to the yonder Regions of Bliss and Glory. And that is infinitely better. Then Death it self will be able to do us no real Injury. It may shake in Pieces our earthly Tabernacle; but we shall have a Building, an House not made with

with Hands, eternal in the Heavens. It may strip us of our Rags of Dust and of Mortality ; but these will be exchang'd for Robes of Light and Glory. Death having lost its Sting, we may receive it into our Bosoms without any Consternation. The Poyson being all taken out of this bitter Cup, we may drink it off without Reluctance. When our Flesh and our Heart shall fail, God will then be *the Strength of our Heart, and our Portion for ever.*

Thus have I endeavoured to shew you what those Duties are, which the Judgments of God at home and abroad do call us to the Practice of. And by this you may easily know when you may be said to *Hear the Rod, and him that has appointed it.* Even when you are awakened to a Sense, both of your Sin and Danger. When, upon a narrow Scrutiny, and strict Enquiry, into the Frame and Temper of your own Minds, you reform what is amiss. When you endeavour to make your Peace with God thro' Christ, and to demean your selves according to the various Aspects of Divine Providence towards you.

III. I shall conclude what I have to say with a short, but serious Exhortation to

E you

you all, to answer the Design and End of God in his most righteous and awful Dispensations: and to learn those Lessons which he is teaching you, by the Tokens of his Displeasure, gone forth against a provoking, sinful Generation. Methinks I hear him speaking to you this Day as formerly to the Jewish Church and Nation.

Jer. vi.

8.

Be thou instructed, O Jerusalem [O England] left my Soul depart from thee, left I make thee desolate, a Land not inhabited. And Woe would be unto us should God depart from us. Should he withdraw his Presence and Protection, he leaves us naked and expos'd to a thousand Mischiefs that are ready to invade us. 'Tis a dreadful thing to fall *out* of God's Hands, as well as to fall *into* them: To be forsaken of his Mercy, as well as to be overtaken of his Vengeance. To render what I have said more effectual, I shall subjoin these two Considerations, and so dismiss you.

1. If you *hear God's Rod*, you have Reason to hope that he will hear your Prayers. That your Petitions will be successful to avert those Judgments that we fear, and to continue the Mercies we do yet enjoy. We *Ezek. ix.* read of a *Mark set upon the Foreheads of those who did sigh and cry for the Abominations committed in the midst of Jerusalem,* and

4, 6.

and the destroying Angel had a Charge not to come near them. The Intercession of *Abraham* would have been prevalent even for *Sodom* it self, if ten righteous Persons could have been found in that ungodly City. A Book of Remembrance was written for those that *feared the Lord, and called upon his Name: and they shall be mine,* ^{Mal. iii.} ^{17.} *saith the Lord, in the Day that I make up my Jewels, and I will spare them as a Man spareth his own Son that serveth him.* God values and secures such as Men do their Jewels, whilst he tramples others, like Dirt and Rubbish, under his Feet. This should oblige us to be importunate and earnest in our Addresses to the Throne of Divine Grace. If our Ears are open to God's awful Summons, his will not be shut against our humble Supplications.

2. However, if he may not think fit to remove his Rod from us, he will support us under it, and do us good by it. If he casts us into the Furnace of Affliction, 'tis to melt down our Dross, not to consume our Substance: and the Fruit of all will be the taking away of Sin. We have a gracious Promise for our Encouragement. *All things shall work together for good to them that love God.* The best of Men are not exempted from National Calamities. Those Bodies

<sup>Rom. viii.
28.</sup>

Bodies that are the Temples of the Holy Ghost, are liable to Infection, as well as those that are prostituted to the vilest Lust. But then they have the Testimony of a good Conscience, and the Hopes of a blessed Immortality for their Support. That Tempest that tosses them, drives them nearer to their desired Harbour. And *those light Afflictions which are but for a Moment, will work out for them a more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.*

F I N I S.



THE
CONSPIRATORS;
OR,
The CASE of CATILINE,

As collected from the best Historians, impartially examin'd ; with respect to his declared and covert ABETTORS ; and the Artifices used to skreen the Conspirators from Punishment.

By the AUTHOR of the CASE of
Francis, Lord BACON.

*Nor This, nor That, you CATILINE can call ;
He's Knight o'th' Shire, and represents you All.*

Rumpatur, Quisquis rumpitur Invidiâ.
Mart.

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printed in red ink

and published by my own hand
in the year one thousand eight
hundred and twenty nine, in commemoration
of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

To all God's saints and angels

and to all men

the author salutes

all creatures of God

and sends his love and

greetings

to all who are good

and true Christians, and to all
the members of the church of God.

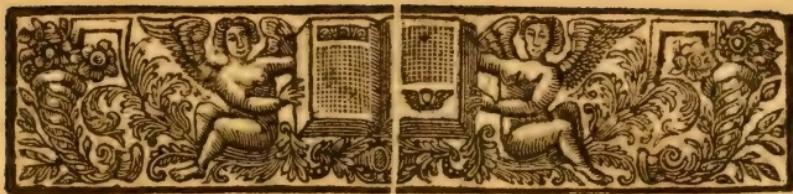
He also sends his love and greetings

to all who are in affliction, and to all

who are in trouble, and to all who are

in distress, and to all who are in

danger, and to all who are in



TO

The RIGHT HONOURABLE

The EARL of

S-----D.

MY LORD,

AS soon as I had collected the *Memoirs* of this horrid Conspiracy, I was not long deliberating with my self, to whom I should make bold to address them ; for casting my Eyes about both for a PATRIOT and a STATESMAN, your Lordship's

shining Character, in both these Capacities, struck me at one View, and immediately determin'd me in my Choice.

BY such Tracts of History as these may be seen, how Kingdoms and Commonwealths are undone: And the Pilots of the State, by such Examples, may know how to shun those fatal Rocks, upon which other Governments have split. I don't know, but that our Circumstances may be like those of old *Rome*, when this Plot of CATILINE was set on Foot: But of this your Lordship is the *ablest Judge*. That there has been a Conspiracy among us, is known to all the World; that the Mischief, and De-

Devastations which it has caused, have been more fatal than the most inveterate Civil War, is as certain: But, amidst the Miseries of a suffering People, the Wants of so many Thousand Private Families, the Ruine of all Ranks and Degrees of Persons, there is a glimmering of Hope left to comfort them, which is, that they can boast in your Lordship's Assistance, the *Redress* of a *Statesman*, whose *uncorrupt Heart* and *clean Hands* have been able to *baffle* the *Afaults* of *foul Suspicions*, and made your *Character* as *clear* and *conspicuous* to all the World, as it was before to your *best* and most *intimate Friends*.

TO

TO such Patriots therefore as your Lordship, it belongs [and from such will it ever principally be expected] to see that Justice be done to the Opprest ; that Traytors, and Betrayers of their Country, be punish'd ; and Miscreants kept in Awe by the Force of wholsome Severities.

WE live, *my Lord*, in an Age of Degeneracy and Corruption ; yet if there are *Great Men*, who have meanly contaminated their Hands with *Bribes*, neither their Chariots nor their Equipage, their Quality nor their Offices, nor all the other Pomp of a superior Character, will be sufficient to defend them from our *Hatred* and *Contempt*.

FROM

FROM the mean Obscurity
in which Fortune has plac'd me, I
look up with Scorn upon that
little Great Man, who is only
remarkable for his *eminent Rogue-
ries*. I do not say there is in the
World any such thing as a
Great Man with a *little Soul* ;
far be it from me to imagine,
much more to utter Scandals
against Those, who think them-
selves, and with Justice, my Su-
periors. But as the Great Coun-
cil of the Nation are new upon
a Scrutiny, endeavouring to de-
tect, and purge away Infection,
it is not doubted, at all Hands,
but your Lordship, who make
so considerable a Figure in this
most august Assembly, will do

all you can towards bringing the *Knot of Conspirators* to condign *Punishment*; Not only the *Inferior* Villains, but the *Great* Ones, if there can be any Such, who have ventured to dishonour the high Rank they share, by bearing a Part in such a *Mechanick Confederacy.*

T H E R E have been, my L O R D, *State-Criminals* before These: Nor can it ever be forgot, to the *Honour* of your Name, how active you were in bringing *Some* to the *Block* who had rashly presum'd to invade the Publick Peace. It was that Spirit of a *Patriot*, so exemplary in your Lordship, which made you think the Man unworthy of Life, who durst

durst do any thing to hurt his Country. We cannot then distrust, that you will not proceed with the same honest Resentments against these Traytors : And endeavour to make their Punishment equal to their Crime. The Others were protected by their Country, and yet disturb'd it : These were not only protected, but trusted and rewarded by It; and in Return, betray'd and ruin'd It. But your Lordship can distinguish betwixt the Criminals.

PERMIT me, my Lord, to
prefeſ one Sentence to you, which
was uſ'd by *Porcius Latro*, in his
honest Declamation againſt C A-
TILINE. *Multa ſunt equidem in*
a 2 *hac*

hac vitâ, quæ turpiter, ac calamitosè neglecta, Restitutionem tamèn quam-dam quodammodo patientur: Hujus vero vindicandi Sceleris si præ-sentem facultatem neglexeritis, fru-strâ posteà recuperandæ copiam quæreritis. I hope I shall stand excused by your Lordship for this Quotation, because it is the only Shadow of a *Parallel* that is pretended to be drawn, as your Lordship will readily observe, by the following Sheets: A direct and plain Matter of *Fact* is told; no one Person obliquely characteris'd, nor any Sarcasms invidi-ously thrown in, to make the old *Roman Conspiracy* tally with the Circumstances of our *domestick Villany*. But as I must be acquittted to the World of This,
the

the Hint, perhaps, might have been spared to your Lordship.

AS you have deservedly the Reputation of so *consummate* a *Statesman*, we are not to question but your Lordship is conversant with *Machiavel*; tho' your Hours are taken up with Affairs of too much Moment, and your Capacity for publick Business too great, to let you borrow any thing from *written Policy*. I shall therefore take the Liberty to produce a Remark of that *discerning Man*, in a Circumstance very much resembling our present Case. In a City, he says, where the People happen to be divided, one Part having injur'd the rest, there remain but two Ex-

Expedients of soddering up Matters: The One, is by putting the *Ringleaders* to *Death*; the Other, is by forcing them to be Friends, and to give *Sureties* not to offend any more. The Last of these Methods he seems not to approve of; for, he says, Reconciliations made upon Force can never last; that their daily seeing one another will administer new Occasions of Quarrel; and besides, if ever that Country should be invaded, the injur'd Party will be apt to join with the Invaders, as the Means to secure their Revenge. Resentment will always survive a Wrong; and therefore as *Machiavel* says, in Cases of this Nature there is no *sure Way*

Way of making Things *safe* but
by *executing* the *Principals*.

I WOULD not willingly be
an Advocate for *Cruelty*; but
your Lordship, who was once
pleased to think *Severity* the
safest as well as *justest* Counsel,
will not be terrified at the *Great-
ness* of the Man, that ventures
to *injure* his Country: For You
can have no *Partiality* in Favour
of *Traytors*.

GO on then, *my Lord*, and
like a Second CATO, persecute
Corruption where-ever you find
it: So may you be honour'd in
this Age and celebrated in the
next: So, when the History of
this Affair comes to be writ with-
out

out *Prejudice* or *Flattery*, may
you be stil'd the PRESERVER and
FATHER of your Country: And
for such Praises be the Subject of
a better Pen, than That of

My L O R D,

Your Lordship's sincere

Admirer, and most

obedient Servant,

BRITANNICUS.



THE CONSPIRATORS, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I enter upon the History of that Conspiracy, which is design'd to make the Subject of these Sheets, it may not be amiss, by way of Introduction, to make a few Remarks upon *Conspiracies* in general, and upon the different *Species* of them.

THERE are, as I conceive, *two* sorts of *Conspiracies*; One, which is form'd and carried on against the Person of the *Prince*; and the other, which is plotted against the *Commonwealth* or *People*. And first, I shall speak of that sort which concerns a *Prince*, tho' it may be thought a little foreign to the Case in hand: But, if we examine History, we shall find that more Prin-

ces have died by them, than in the Field of Battle by the Hands of an open and declar'd Enemy. *

NOTWITHSTANDING, this, it must still be admitted that it is infinitely more dangerous to conspire against a Prince, than against a Commonwealth. For, allowing the Plot should succeed, the Conspirators cannot expect to escape Punishment, if the Prince were belov'd by his Subjects: And we have a remarkable Proof of this in the Resentment that pursued the Murther of *Julius Cæsar*, where every one of the Assassins were sacrificed by the Rage and Arms of the People, except those who in despair destroy'd themselves.

BUT where a Prince is either so *wicked*, or so *unfortunate*, as to provoke a general Hate against him, he must, of Consequence, have injur'd some particular Persons more than the rest; who, no doubt, will seek all Opportunities of doing themselves right against him. These, being encourag'd by the general Disaffection which they see towards him, form to themselves, in the first place, hopes of Success, or of Impunity, at worst, if they happen to miscarry. Yet, even in this Case, there is great Danger in the concerting and Execution of a Plot; either the Cowardice, Indiscretion, or Treachery of some in the Secret very often betrays all.

* Ad Generum Cereris sine Cæde & sanguine pauci
Descendunt Reges, & nec à morte Tyranni. *Juvén.*

MACHIAVEL.

MACHIAVEL, I remember, gives it for his Opinion, that it is safer for Princes to injure Men in their *Lives*, than in their *Fortunes*; for he observes, that dead Men cannot think of Revenge, and the living soon forget the dead: But you cannot distress a Man so in his Circumstances, as totally to deprive him of the Power of Revenge. The poorest Man will find a Knife for a desperate Blow; and he that feels the Cruelty and Oppression of Tyranny, will become a dangerous Enemy, whenever Opportunity presents its self. It is therefore a hazardous thing for a Prince to drive Men to despair; since he, who once is brought to despise his own Life, is certainly Master of another Man's. *Philip of Macedon* was kill'd by *Pausanias* in the midst of his Guards; and so was *Harry the Fourth of France* by *Raviliac*. Examples, indeed, of this extravagant Daring are but few; for a regard to Self-preservation is natural to Man in all Circumstances of Life, and it seldom happens that we chuse to run upon certain Death.

BUT, of all sorts of Conspiracies, none are so dangerous to a Prince, as those carried on by Persons intrusted with his Secrets. The same great *Politician*, whom I but now mention'd, advises a Prince to have a more watchful Eye over those whom he has oblig'd by many Benefits, than over those whom he has as signally injur'd. For by giving the *First* Wealth and Power, he puts them in a Condition of ruining him, if they prove wicked or ungrateful: And it is often

seen, that Avarice and Ambition will carry some Men as far as Revenge will carry others.

THE Favourites of a Prince know the weak side of his Affairs, see whether his Footing be slippery, and can lay hold of the proper Occasion to give him a Trip : While others, who by distance from his Trust and Counsels, know nothing of his Weaknesses, vent their Resentments only by cursing and railing at a bad Prince, and proceed no further. It is observable therefore, that the most successful Conspiracies have been manag'd by Persons in the Bosom of the Prince : At *Rome*, for instance, the Emperor *Commodus* was destroy'd by *Martia*, his darling Mistress, and *Lætus* and *Electus*, his two greatest Favourites ; at home, scarce an *Englishman* is ignorant how far King *James the Second* was betray'd by a certain *Lord*, who was his first *Secretary*, and at the Head of his Cabinet Councils. These were inrich'd and dignify'd with Honours, and yet, as if they were oppress'd with too many Favours, conspir'd against their Masters ; fawn'd upon them, while they were working their Ruines, and betray'd them, while they were solliciting new Gratifications. It puts me in mind of a fine turn in *Shakespear*, where speaking of the Fears that attended Plots, and what Disguises they needed to obscure the Brow of Treason, he cries,

— Seek none, Conspiracy ;
Hide it in Smiles, and Affability :
For if thou put thy Native Semblance on,
Not Erebus itself were dimm enough
to bide thee from Prevention !

THERE.

THEREFORE I say, of all Treasons, That works the surest, which puts on the Mask of Love and Friendship.

I COME now to speak a word of *Conspiracies* against a *Commonwealth*, or *People*. These, as I have before hinted, are concerted and carried on with *less Danger* and *Hazard* to the *Conspirators*: but, at the same time, are attended with *greater Circumstances* of *Villany* in the *Actors*. For the *People* cannot injure particular Men as a *Prince* may, not having the Power in their Hands; and in those States, where the *People* have any share in the Government, it is to be observ'd, that they are very tender of private Property. But they who generally conspire against the *People*, are Persons who have the Administration over them; who, perhaps, are back'd with a standing Army commanded and led by their own Creatures, and maintain'd at the Charge of that People whom they are employ'd to destroy. Thus the Treason being acted against no Principal (for the *People* are nothing without a Head) meets with very little Difficulty in the bringing about. Treason against the *Prince* is executed either by *Poyson*, or the *Sword*; because in many Cases his Power ends not but with his Life: But there is no such thing in executing Treason against the *People* by the same Instruments, because it is impossible to massacre or poison a whole Nation: Therefore it is perpetrated by some *Fraud*: when it is against their *Wealth*; or by *Terror*, when it is against their *Liberties*. But, in either of these Cases, where the Persons conspiring have the Reins of Government in their
Hands

Hands, and have standing Troops at their Devotion, they incur no great Danger of Punishment. In Countries, where the Government is mixt, as was that of *Sparta*, who had both a King and their *Ephori*; if the governing Men should have once ventur'd to destroy the Liberty of the People, it is probable they would not have stopp'd there; but would likewise have ruin'd the Prince, or made him a Tool to their Arbitrary Schemes: Both which they might have easily brought to pass, being so strengthen'd with Power, and thereby made capable of securing themselves from Punishment.

THIS may be a Lesson of some Moment to Princes, both in regard to themselves and their Subjects, (whose Welfare ought to be connective and dependant on each other, and whose Interests, consequently, should be inseparable and the same) not to trust and parcel out their Power indiscreetly; especially those Branches of it, which relate nearly to the Prerogative of the Crown, or Wealth and Property of the Subject. For a People can neither be happy nor flourishing, where their Prince's Hands are tied, and his Will of doing Service circumscrib'd by Inability: And, on the other Hand, let Prerogative be never so ample and uncontrol'd, if the Riches of his Subjects are once drain'd, and their Spirits impoverish'd with their Fortunes, the Prince there grasps but an empty and precarious Scepter.

I CANNOT easily forget, or omit, here the Sentiments of *MACHIAVEL*, which seem to have a Relation to the Matter which I
am

am now handling. 'Tis plain, the great Politician, thought, that the personal Virtues of a Prince were not essential, or of such Moment to his Kingdom, as his Care and Wisdom in appointing good and honest Ministers of State. And therefore, in his Chapters touching SECRETARIES, he has thrown in some Rules for the distinguishing a good Minister, and for the keeping him so: *When you see, (says he,) the Servant study more for his own Advantage than yours, and that in all his Actions he searches most after his own Profit, the Man so qualified shall never prove a good Servant, nor can you ever rely upon him: For he that holds the Stern of the State, ought never to call Home his Cares to his own Particular, but give himself wholly over to his Prince's Service, nor ever put him in Mind of any thing not appertaining to Him.* And on the other side, the Prince to keep him good to him, ought to honour, enrich, and oblige his Servant, giving him Part both of Dignities and Offices, to the End that the many Honours and much Wealth bestow'd on him, may restrain him from desiring other Honours and other Wealth; and that those many Charges cause him to fear Changes that may happen, knowing his own Safety is dependant on that of his Master.

THERE have been, and certainly will be, as long as the World lasts, a Set of Men who, as * *Livy* expresses it, value nothing in Comparison with Wealth, and think there can be no Access to either Honour or Virtue, but for the Man who is immoderately rich. These, of all People

* Qui omnia humana p^{re} divitiis spernunt, neque honoris magno locum, neque Virtuti putant esse, nisi effusis affluant Opes. *Liv. l. 3. c. 26.*

People should be restrain'd from hurting the Publick in Office.

BUT, to draw my Subject into a narrower Compass;

THE Hinges on which most generally all *Conspiracies* are turn'd, are either the LUXURY of an overgrown State, that labours for a proper Vent to its Humours; the POVERTY of a People drain'd and exhausted, that covet *Innovation* to repair and recruit them; the AMBITION of some popular and factious *Ministers*, who think themselves confin'd within too narrow a Sphere of Power; or some raging and incurable DISCONTENTS against the Persons at the *helm*, who, having once lost the Love and Opinion of their Subjects, seldom boast a long and stable *Administration*. And, from which ever of these Causes a Commonwealth is rent and disever'd, there always happens something so flagrant and uncommon in the Means of bringing it about, as startles the Minds of the impartial and unconcern'd Spectators.

NOR must I forget to add, among the other Causes, the fatal Consequences that have attended those States, where two large a Portion of Power has been committed into *mean* and *improper* Hands: For the Views of *Plebeians*, however elevated above their own *Dirt* by *accidental Promotions*, are *sordid* and *griping*; and the Rule of their Proceedings is always to *grasp* at other Men's *Properties*, to *swell* their own *Fortunes* higher. But notwithstanding this is so known and obvious, they are frequently set up either thro'

Envy

Envie or Indiscretion, and preferr'd, in publick Affairs, to others both of more Ability to execute, and Honour to grace, their Offices. For it happens in all Ages and Countries, as *SALUST*, who was himself of the People's Side, has delicately observ'd, *Regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena Virtus formidolosa est*; that honest Men are more suspected than Knaves by most Princes, and to such Potentates another's Virtue is ever a Scarecrow. *

TO enter more regularly upon the History of this wicked and dangerous Conspiracy, which took its Name from its Principal *CATILINE*, and which designed no less than the Ruine and Overthrow of the best establish'd Government in the World; it will be proper to make some Remarks on the Condition of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, at the Time when such a Conspiracy took its Rise: For so every Reader will be able to make this useful Observation, That a *Commonwealth*, like a *human Body*, when its *Constitution* is once *broke into* and *corrupted*, and those *Ministers*, who should give it *Strength* and *Nourishment*, are become *vicious* and *rotten*, it is prepar'd to receive *any Infection*: And a *Scar*, which would not be felt or seen on a sound Body, will destroy that which is already distemper'd.

NEVER was a greater Fall from Virtue, and every thing that was worthy, upon the Record of History, than than of this *Great, but Infamous*

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* *Salust. in Bello Catilinario.*

People ! They, who were, at first, intent on the Protection of their Country, and Defence of their Allies ; who delighted more in Arms, and Steeds of War, than idle Feasts and effeminate Luxury ; they, whose greatest Emulation was Glory, who strove to be formost in Mounting the Breach, and counted such an Action to Riches, Reputation, and Nobility : Who were greedy of Fame, but liberal of their Corn ; degenerated, at last, into Ease and Indolence ; gave way to mean Ambitions and meaner Avarice ; and sunk into all the contrary Extremes of Vice, and Luxury, and every sort of Debauchery. From having been severe in Virtue, rigid in their Morals, and strict in their Piety, Prophaneness now began to be encourag'd, the Mysteries of Religion and the Worship of the Gods were exploded and ridicul'd. The Drols and Buffoons of the Age laugh'd at Notions of Sanctity, and took this Way of recommending themselves to the Great, in order to be preferr'd in their Fortunes. It was become the peculiar Characteristic of Wit to sneer at Things sacred, and even the Ignorant and Foolish (who made up the greater Number) had Recourse to this impious Practise of Affronting the Gods, for Want of other distinguishing Parts, whereby to make themselves taken Notice of. It became a Piece of Policy to cultivate a Contempt of the Priesthood : And the Power, they once had of accusing those who were guilty of Irreverence towards the Gods, was so suspended, that it was in a manner quite taken away.

NOW, it is very easy to account why this Libertinism was so encourag'd by several of the Great

Great Men of the Times : They knew very well, that every Religion was grounded upon, and maintain'd by, some virtuous Principles : That Man, whose Nature is frail and prone to Corruption, must be aw'd by some Belief of future Rewards and Punishments : And therefore Religion was the strongest Tie to Morality. They had observ'd, in reading the History of their Great Ancestors, that the Commonwealth had maintain'd its Liberty by its Adherence to Religion : For it was thought an Impiety towards the Gods, to endeavour to subvert that Constitution which they had establish'd.

THUS the Great Men, who were Lovers of their Country, by shewing the People Examples of their high Reverence to the Gods, kept them virtuous and united. And it is owing to the same Cause, that, for many Ages, those, who attempted any thing against the publick Liberty, always perish'd in their Corruption. But the *Magistrates* of these Days, having Views quite different from those of their Great and Virtuous Ancestors, took as different Measures in their *Administration* : Luxury and Avarice having possess'd their whole Hearts, all their *Schemes* and *Projects* tended to raise themselves on the *Ruin* of the Publick : And the more surely to corrupt the Honesty of the Times, they perswaded the People that Religion was nothing but the Craft and Juggle of Priests : Well knowing, if this Notion prevail'd, the People thinking themselves bound by no Ties of Conscience, would soon lay aside the Incumbrance of their Mora-ls : And being once addicted to Impiety, they might easily gain over a licentious Party, wicked enough

enough to join with them in the Destruction of the People.

THESE, no Doubt, were the Reasons that induc'd them to propagate Atheism; and the Consequence often answer'd the Design propos'd. For being corrupted in the Fundamentals, good Principles abated in them every Day; and the exalted Notions, which they before had of Honour, now terminated in Schemes to accumulate a Fortune. And, as * *SALUST* observes, *Postquam Divitiae honori esse cuperunt, & eas Gloria, Imperium, Potentia sequebatur; hebescere Virtus, Paupertas probro haberi, Innocentia pro Malivolentia duci caput.* As soon as Riches once began to be in Honour, and Glory, Power, and Preferment were the Consequences of a great Estate; Virtue sicken'd and fell off in their Opinion, Narrowness of Circumstances was esteem'd a Disgrace, and even Innocence of Life an Invidious Reproach on the Conduct of their Betters.

HOW thoroughly Avarice had overturn'd their Principles, because Example in all Cases goes beyond Precept and Declamation, I shall endeavour to shew from One Instance of as general Corruption (if you will allow it possible) as has lately happen'd among Us.

+ *MICIPSA*, the King of the Numidians, dying, left his Kingdom to his two Sons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*, and to *Jugurtha*, his Brother's Son, whom he had adopted. *Jugurtha* soon surpriz'd his Cousin *Hiempsal* by a Stratagem

gem, kill'd him in the Night, and so remov'd one of his Partners in Empire: Nor had *Adherbal* far'd better, if he had not taken the Alarm, and put himself on the Defence, and afterwards fled to *Rome* for Refuge.

JUGURTHA, being sensible how much Avarice and Injustice had crept into the City, (1) and having no other Hopes of diverting the Resentments of *Rome* than by the Force of *his* Money and *their* Avarice, dispatch'd his Ambassadors thither with large Presents, which had such Effects upon the *Senate*, (2) and wrought such a Change in their Minds, that, from the highest Pitch of Hatred and Detestation, he got into the highest Favour and Respect with the *Patricians*. They proceeded so effectually in his Interest, thas they decreed him half the Kingdom, and sent him Ten *Commissioners* to divide it between him and *Adherbal*. (3)

(4) T H E *Commissioners*, thinking they might lawfully imitate their Masters in the *Senate*, were also *brib'd* to bestow the most rich and populous Part upon *Jugurtha*: But he still unsatisfied

(1) Neque aduersus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritiâ nobilitatis, & pecuniâ suâ, spem habere. *Salust.* in bello Jugurthino.

(2) Tanta Commutatio incessit, ut ex maxumâ invidiâ in gratiam & favorem Nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret. Idem ibid.

(3) Decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micepsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham & Adherbalem dividarent. Idem. ibid.

(4) In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur. Idem. ibid.

fied with a Rival in Power, fell suddenly upon *Adherbal*, besieг'd him in *Cirta*, (5) and getting him into his Hands, first tortures, and (as *Livy* tells us, (6) *contrā denunciationem Senatus*) against the express Injunction of the Senate, puts him to Death.

L E T us see now, what was the Consequence of this Indignity. The Senate are provok'd, and a War is decreed against *Jugurtha*. This Affair is committed to the management of *Calpurnius Bestia* the Consul, who invades *Numidia* with great Vigour and Diligence, takes some Towns, but is soon stop'd in his Career, being overcome by the *Golden Weapons* of *Jugurtha*. (7)

T H E Senate are a little surpriz'd and mov'd at this, and at the Conduct of *Scaurus*, who accompanying the Consul as his Friend and Counsellor, and who had been an inveterate Enemy to *Jugurtha*, was likewise guilty of the same Crime. (8)

TO put a stop to these Steps of Corruption, *Cassius Longinus*, the *Prætor*, is sent, to procure *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome* upon the publick Faith of

(5) Igitur Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat. Id. ibid.

(6) Liv. in Epit. li 64.

(7) Animus æger avaritiâ facilè conversus est. Sall. in bell. Jugur.

(8) Qui tametsi à principiis plerisq; ex factione ejus corruptis acerrumè regem impugnaverat, tamen, magnitudine pecuniae, à bondi honestoq; in prayum abstractus est. Id. n. lib d.

of the State, that so they might discover all such as had been guilty of BRIBERY. (9)

JUGURTHA is with much Difficulty persuaded to make tryal of the Clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himself upon the People's Mercy : Whereupon he appears in the supplicating Habit, and is no sooner brought before the Assembly, but *Bæbius* the Tribune bids him hold his peace, he being also *brib'd* to defer the Business, and delude the People. (10)

UPON this, *Jugurtha* is in a few days order'd from *Rome*, and follow'd by the Consul *Albinus* with an Army : But the Consul soon leaving his Forces with his Brother *Aulus*, by Virtue of some *Compact*, he withdraws them from the Town where the chief Treasure of the Kingdom lay, when he was just upon investing it. (11)

THE *Centurions* were likewise so corrupted, that when *Albinus* return'd, *Jugurtha* was suffer'd to break into their Camp : Whence beating out the Army, he either forc'd, or by Agreement too, brought *Albinus* to submit upon most dishonourable Terms. (12) I

(9) Eumq; interpositâ fide publicâ. Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis, Scauri & reliquorum, quos pecunia captæ arcessebant, delicta patefierent.

(10) C. *Bæbius* Tribunus plebis, quem pecuniâ corruptum suprà diximus, regem tacere jubet.

(11) Deniq; *Aulum* spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule (ubi regis Thesauri erant) in abditas regiones se, velute cedentem, insequeretur.

(12) *Centuriones*, ducesq; turmarum, partim, uti transfigerent, corrumpere ; alii, signo datâ, uti locum deserent, &c. Idem *ibid.*

I K N O W very well these Corruptions, which *Rome* gave way to from the Hands of *Jugurtha*, fell out some little time before the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, but it was at a time when the same infamous Politicks began to prevail, and qualified them for more flagitious Practises. *Rome* it self, as * *Plutarch* takes notice, was in the most dangerous Inclination to change, by reason of the unequal Distribution of its Wealth, for Persons of the greatest Honour and Spirit had made themselves poor by Ambition of Offices, sumptuous Buildings, and the like ; and by these means the Riches of the City were fallen into the Hands of *mean* and *despicable* Persons : So that there wanted but little Weight to remove the Seat of Affairs, it being in the Power of every daring Man to overturn a sickly Commonwealth.

C A T I L I N E was not a Stranger to the Luxury and Vices of the State, nor to the Sentiments of the Factious and Discontented Nobles, who wish'd to see their Countrey worse imbroil'd than it had been by the late Revolution, brought about by the Arms and Ambition of *Sylla*.

W H E N once the Constitution of any State is subverted, *Innovation*, like the *Hydra's Heads*, sprouts out into new Changes. All Parties cannot be satisfied with one Scheme of Government, and the Malecontents will still be practising to alter the Measure they dislike. Some have too much

* In Vitâ M. T. Ciceronis.

much Wealth, and others too great Preferments, either of which is an Eyesore to the Man of narrow Circumstances, and who has no Promotion to better his Fortune. *Catiline*, who was of a towering ambitious Spirit, aim'd more at providing for his *Luxuries*, than his *Wants* : The Passions of *Avarice* and *Preheminence* equally inflam'd him : His Pride could not digest the Repulses he met with in his standing for Offices, and his partial Opinion of his own Merit, that was neglected, made him so far envy the successful Dignity of others, that, as *Porcius Latro* expresses it, *the Lust of his Wickedness centred in plundering the Substance, and oppressing the Liberty, of the whole City.* †

THO' he was subtle and crafty by Nature, yet he had not all that Cunning which he was suppos'd to be Master of from his accustom'd *Taciturnity*; Silence being the best Disguise either to hide good Sense, or the Want of it. Considering with himself that the great Designs he had in view, no less in Effect than the Ruin of the People of *Rome*, could not be brought about by himself alone, but that it was the Work of more Villains than one, and therefore there would be a Necessity of several Under-Machines ; he cast his Eyes about the City to find out those *Romans* of the most vicious and profigate Lives, and the most desperate Fortunes ; with both which at this Time the City abounded. Such Men as these he judg'd would be

D equal

† Hujus Sceleris Libido reposita erat in diripiundis omnium civium facultibus, atq; opprimendâ urbis Libertate. Porc. Latro in Declam. contra Catilin.

equal to the Mischief he had to perpetrate ; for 'tis not to be wonder'd, that they, who have neither Fame nor Fortune to lose, who had been bred up in Luxury and Riot, and were eager for Rapine and Plunder, should feel no Remorse at trampling over the Necks of their fellow Citizens, if they stood in their way to Preferment. Having therefore attach'd himself to several of these, they join'd together in a close, but most enormous Conspiracy : And the first Step which they judg'd most necessary and essential, was to work themselves into all the profitable Offices of the Republick ; that having at their Command the *Treasure* of their Country, they might destroy her with her *own Strength*. The *first* Part of their Scheme they easily brought to pass by *caballing* with the *Citizens*, and the *latter* they verily near effected, as will be evident in the Sequence of this History.

IT may be very material to my Subject to take Notice, while this *Faction* presided over the publick Affairs, by what Maxims and Artifices of *infamous* Policy they labour'd to extirpate and root out that little Virtue which was left among the People.

I AM told it has been a common Practice in Surgery, where any great Limb is to be cut off, to begin with giving a strong *Opiat* to the Patient, to take off the Feeling and Apprehension of what he was going to suffer. And such was the Method of these *political Operators*, they were to administer quieting Draughts of Pleasure, to dull the *sensitive* Faculties of the State, to divert them from dwelling too intently on their Case, that

that they might have the better Opportunity of cutting clean, and not startle their Patients with the Size of their *Knife*, or the *Incision* that they were to make with it.

ONE of the Methods of *Stupefaction*, which they thought fit to practise, was the exhibiting new and extravagant Entertainments. For this End *foreign Strollers*, *Songsters*, and *Buffoons*, were sent for and invited to settle in *Rome*. These Artists, the Generality of whom had submitted to *Eunuchism* for the Benefit of a Voice, were hired and supported at the most extravagant Charge: Some of them having Pensions equal to the Pay of a *Prætor*, or General of the *Legions*: They had their *Litters* and their *Slaves*, their *Baths* and their *Perfumes*, and the Privilege of an *intimate Access* to the greatest *Man in Rome*; when an honest Citizen, who had any Grievance to complain of, might attend without Redress, or so much as being admitted to an Audience. The voluntary Contributions, which were made towards the supporting these Creatures in State, were very large, and their Shews and Spectacles were govern'd and order'd by a Set of *vain PATRICIANS* then in Power, who took Care that no Representation should be exhibited to the People, but such as incited effeminate Passions and soft Desires: To the End that Vice and Indolence might steal into their Souls imperceptibly and they might be so overcome by the Charms of Luxury, as not to be awake either to their Virtue or Danger.

THIS Extravagance of Diversion was seconded by another, as *expensive*, but more *profitable*

gate and *licentious* in its Nature. A Diversion that gave so great an Umbrage to publick Scandal, that tho' the People of the first Character zealously espous'd it, the *Pontifex Maximus*, or HIGH PRIEST, was oblig'd in Decency to make some Representations against it, tho' he had afterwards the *Honesty* to make One, as it was too generally suspected, in this notorious *Conspiracy*. This Entertainment, of which I am now speaking, was of a kind unknown before to the *Romans*: A Midnight Revel, where both Sexes met in strange Disguises; such as *Centaurs*, *Satyrs*, *Sylvans*, and the like; and convers'd with the utmost Freedom, without being suppos'd to know each other's Sex or Quality. The whole Stream of the People fell into this tempting Debauchery; neither Years, nor Wisdom, nor Reason, restrain'd them from indulging in a Pleasure that promis'd such a Variety of Satisfaction. For, as * *Nicolaus de Clemangis* describes it, *Nec sola juvenus, sed & proiectior etas vitiis juvenilibus ita esset implecata, ut luxui lubricaque dissolutioni non dies sufficeret, noctes saepe ludo ac choreis insomnes transigrent, &c.* *Viri sui sexus obliti in muliebremque resoluti mollitatem, foemineo se ritu agunt; compti, & ad speculum compositi domo prodeunt auro & gemmis ornati: Foeminae a Natura propria degeneres virilem induerunt audaciam.* Not only the giddy Youth, but Persons advanced in Years, were so intangled in these juvenile Vices, that the Day was not sufficient for their Luxury and Dissoluteness, but they often past whole Nights without Sleep in Dancing and Gaming. *Tee Men forgetting the Dignity of their Sex, and sunk into a Womanish Softness, like that Sex, were dress'd*

* In ejus Epistola. LIV.

dress'd and adorn'd as the Looking-glass, and went out glittering with a Weight of Gold and Jewels ; the Women, on the other Hand, relinquishing their natural Modesty, put on an Affection of Masculine Assurance. *CICERO*, whose Voice was of such Authority in other Cases, prevail'd nothing against the Violence of their Affection to these Sports ; he could not discountenance these unseasonable Riotings, tho' he declar'd in open Senate that Dancing was but the Shadow of Luxury ; meaning, as a Learned Man has been pleas'd to interpret him, that as there is no Shadow without a Substance to cause it, so there can be no Dancings without a Foundation of Luxury : *Quod sicuti umbra ibi non sit ubi non sit corpus ; ita nec Saltatio reperiatur, nisi ubi sit Luxuria.* †

IT was supposed by the graver Sort at first, that this was a Contrivance only for Cabals and Plotting ; but, in effect, it was intended for the Propagation of Lewdness, and to work their more remote Designs by poisoning the State with a general Taint of Debauchery. For now, by the Industrie of these Governours, all the Vices of *Asia* were improv'd at *Rome*.

AND this Sort of Policy work'd a very notable Effect in Favour of their Cause ; for the People being as it were stupified with Shews, Feasts, Vanity, Luxury, and every Branch of Effeminacy, had not Leisure to think of, or look into, their Condition, to examine the intricate Administration of their Governors, or see the Tyranny and Ruin that was stealing over them ;

So

† Vide Rivinum de Majumis, Maicampis, & Roncaliis.

So that they were undone before they knew it; they wak'd as it were from a Golden Dream, and found themselves in the utmost Danger of being destroy'd. But these Governors very well knew, that tho' the *Romans* above all other People, were remarkable for a virtuous Love of Liberty; yet, if they once came to be govern'd by an Arbitrary and Despotick Power, they would by degrees fall off from that Affection to their Country: For Luxury and Indolence are the Things that best prepare the Minds of Men for Slavery, and reconcile them to Meanness and Servitude.

IT may be very material, (tho' it is a Task of Difficulty and much Trouble, at this distance of time) to characterize the Persons, that so infamously distinguish'd themselves in this Conspiracy.

LUCIUS Sergius Catiline was himself descended from a *Patrician* Family, his Father bearing the same Name and having likewise born some Offices in the Commonwealth. At his Death, he left behind him rather the Character of a *cunning* than of an *honest* Man; for he had not carried himself with Integrity in the Offices he held, but had, as it was afterwards well known, betray'd the Secrets of the Commonwealth to its Enemies. Therefore the People bore a kind of Hatred to the Name of the Family, and it became a common Phrase in the Mouths of the People, when any great Man in Office was suspected of betraying the State, (which was common in those Days) to say, *he'll prove another Catiline.*

BY this it may be seen, that the *Catiline* whose History I am now penning, came into the World with the Prejudice of the People, nor did he ever, 'tis certain, take any Pains to remove that Prejudice. He was so far from being belov'd by his Fellow Citizens, that he improv'd the Hatred towards his Family, and not without Cause: For he had none of those Virtues in his Soul, which recommend a Man; being neither generous, compassionate, friendly, nor a lover of the Populace; but fullen and reserv'd in his Temper, a very little Talker, and very seldom observ'd to smile; wherefore he was not an agreeable Companion even in his Pleasures.

I MUST obviate one Objection here, which is, that I may seem to falsify the Accounts of some Historians in relation to his want of Generosity; for * *SALUST* says expresly, that he was *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, very greedy of what belong'd to others, very profuse of what was his own. But this Generosity of his must be understood as to his *Largesses* and *Bribes*, to carry any Point: There, indeed, he was not only liberal, but extravagant. The Cause of the *Faction*, in which he chose to imbark himself, was to be advanc'd and establish'd by *Præmiums*, but this was at best a *designing Liberality*, a *Trick* of his *Policy*, and not a *Virtue* of his *Temper*.

AS to his Person, he was of a middle Stature, and something inclin'd to Corpulency; but Nature had not adorn'd his Mien or Countenance with

* In Bellō Catilinariō.

with any Grace or taking Beauty. There was a fixt and settled *Sowreness* in his Face, which made an Impression upon the Beholders at first Sight, much to his *Disadvantage*, and prepossess'd Men with a Notion of his being *ill-temper'd*.

IT is the Trick of Nature sometimes to hang out Colours, as it were, and to write the Passions and Inclinations of the Soul in expressive Characters upon the Lines and Muscles of the Face: And Men put so strong a Belief on those external Marks of Virtue, or Vice, that when they behold a Man whom the Gods have mark'd, as they used to term it, act and behave himself with Justice and Benevolence towards Mankind, they will not be persuaded to believe it the Effect of Virtue; but rather to proceed from Disimulation, in order to carry on some wicked Design.

BE this as it may, it is certain that *Catiline's* Face did no way bely his Soul. If he look'd crafty, vicious, sowre, or envious, he certainly was so, and we need no clearer a Proof than an Appeal to the Actions. History has no been very particular as to his Education, but as soon as he came to Man's Estate, we find, he thrust himself into *Factions* and *Cabals*; and herded with those, who were for embroiling the Publick, only with private Views of preferring themselves.

HE married several Times, but chiefly, as People suspected, for the Convenience of strengthening himself by *Alliances* with *Great Men*, rather than out of any Affection for the *Ladies*.

For

For if we may believe some Authors, he had a most *unnatural* Tast in his *Gallantries*: And in those Hours when he gave a Loose to Love, the Women were wholly excluded from his Embraces. * *Omitto pestis hujus impurissimas Voces, mollitiem scenicam, obtuitus impudicos, blandicias muliebres, & omnem denique copiam non mediocri-um vitiorum, &c.* There are some Vices, which give too gross Ideas, to be repeated by the Names that are affix'd to them. 'Tis certain, however odd and unnatural his Lewdness was, (yet it was a notorious Practise among some great Men of that Age) and some of his *Gany-medes* were pamper'd and supported at a high Rate at his Expence ; and this Profuseness, excepting only in *Bribes*, was the kind in which he most indulg'd himself.

THE chief of his Instruments, as the most active in palliating the Conspiracy, when discover'd, was *M. Hortensius*. He was a busie Senator of no great Family or Fortune ; but the little Patrimony, which descended to him from his Ancestors, he had wasted by promoting *Factions* in the Commonwealth, which he repair'd again by *publick Offices*. He had been preferr'd and disgrac'd, and disgrac'd and preferr'd again, according as the Factions, which he espous'd, prevail'd or were disappointed. When in Office, he was ever Tyrannical and Arbitrary ; when discarded, busy and intrigueing, in order to replace himself.

E

BY

* *Porcius Latro in Declam. contra Catilinam.*

BY his Reach in Politicks, and artful Insinuations, he made himself Head of a Party of *mercenary* Senators, whom he led as he pleas'd : For 'tis said of him, that he had an equal Address at giving, or at *taking*, a *Bribe*. Thus he made himself of Consequence to a Faction, and push'd things with so much Earnestness and Inclination, that it was surmis'd, he conniv'd at the *Gallantries* of his *Wife*, to engage some of her *Lovers* in his *Designs*.

HE had been formerly *imprison'd* and *expell'd* the *Senate* for taking *Bribes* in his *Office*, yet this was no great Let to his after-Preferments ; for that Practise was now grown so general and familiar, that People forgot so much as to *blush* for it. And to give more pregnant Instances of his *Integrity*, it was his Custom, whenever any thing was propounded in the *Senate*, to appear very violent on *one* side in order to be *brib'd off* by the *other*. And thus it was that he behav'd in this Affair, for 'tis certain that he was not a *Principal* in this *Conspiracy*, nor any Instrument in the plotting or carrying it on ; for he at first seem'd to *prosecute* it as is before hinted, till he afterwards chang'd sides for Reasons obvious enough to be guess'd at, and which we shall account for anon ; and then he became as *strenuous* in *skreening* the *Conspirators* from the *Punishments*, which *CATO* and other *Senators*, of severe *Morals*, press'd to have inflicted. The *Talents*, which would have most turn'd to his *Praise*, had he not perverted and abus'd them, were, that he was well vers'd in the Learning of the times, and was accounted a very good *Orator*, so that his

his Harangues were always sure of being receiv'd with Attention.

LUCIUS Bestia, was no inconsiderable Party in this Conspiracy ; he was at first an ordinary Pleader at the Bar, but having a very good Knack of Oratory, and being esteem'd to know very well the Laws of the Republick, he soon piec'd out the meanness of his Fortunes by the assistance of Endowments ; and made shift to advance himself by the Troubles of the Commonwealth. The promoting of Dissention in the State, and City, was the common Method Men took then of making themselves considerable : And as Affairs stood, he must have been a wretched Incendiary indeed, that could not be carress'd by one Party or other.

T H E Commonwealth, in short, was used like an Enemy's Country, upon the Plunder of which every one expected to make his private Fortune. *Bestia* did not fail to make his Advantage out of such Commotions ; but, bustling thro' Factions, got himself into one of her Seats of Preferment. Here he had an Opportunity of gratifying all his Vices ; one of which was a Notorious Partiality in the *Administration of Justice*. For he was used to stretch and torture the Law to his own Construction, and wrest its meaning to the Injury of Persons who were not of his own Faction ; so that he became the Terror of honest Men. At his first setting out, and pushing for Promotion, he attach'd himself to an opposite Party, but finding the Interests of it to decline and run low, that its Advocates were oppress'd, and not very likely to retrieve their

Ground ; He turn'd his Back upon his unsuccessful Choice, and follow'd Fortune ; joyning himself to that *Faction*, which, tho' not the most *just*, was nevertheless the most *prosperous*.

TO these was join'd in their pernicious League, *Caius Cornelius Cethegus*, a Man, as * *Plutarch* says, insolent in his Conduct, and vicious in his Morals. Authors, I find, differ pretty widely concerning his Original ; some asserting that he was of the *Cornelian Family*, bred to Letters, and design'd for the Bar ; but others informing us, that he was only a *Gladiator*, and of so base and mean extraction, that his Parents were obscure enough not to be known in their own Country.

HOWEVER, when he once came to be advanc'd in the Commonwealth, and to have some Honours conferr'd upon him, he labour'd pretty heartily to make a Figure, and being vain-glorious in his Temper, he took a great deal of Pains to deduce his Original from *Somebody*, which occasion'd a great many Jests to be thrown out upon him. But this Vanity render'd him yet more contemptible than the Meanness of his Birth ; he began to grow considerable, from his serving in the Army under the Command of *Marcus Crassus*, the most *avaritious Person* of all the *Romans*. By him was *Cethegus* often employ'd in raising and collecting *Contributions*, and being very active in the Camp, he advanc'd himself by just Degrees, and, could he have establish'd the Character of Virtue too, gain'd the

* In *Vitâ Luculli. Post. Latro contrâ Catilinam.*

the Reputation of a valiant and expert Soldier. As he grew into Command, his Pride and Ostentation shew'd themselves more flagrantly : And it was observ'd of him, that he generally wore his Vest richer than any of the Patricians, having it adorn'd with Embroidery of Gold or Silver : And this he did to force as it were a Respect from the Vulgar, who, knowing the Meanness of his Descent, look'd upon him to be no better than one of themselves.

CAIUS VERRES, another who was deep in the Scheme of this *flagitious Plot*, was no more than a *Bondman*, or *emancipated slave* at first. History is not express in the Circumstances either of what Parents he was, where he was born, or from whence he came. Nor is the Enquiry of any Moment, any more than it would be to examine why he was call'd *Verres*.

|| T H E *Romans*, we know, were used to give the *Cognomen* or Family-Name, from the Temper of Mind ; from external Marks, or Qualities of the Body ; or from some Events and Change in Fortune. Thus the Names of *Cato* and *Frugi* were bestow'd on the Account of Wisdom and Virtue; *Africanus*, *Capitolinus*, *Felix*, &c. from Conquests obtain'd and Accidents of Fortune ; *Cicero*, *Macer*, *Celer*, and the like, from Marks,

|| Cognomina Familiarum alii aliundè repetunt, quæ tamen, ut rem paucis expediam, ad tria quasi capita revocari possunt: ita ut alia ab animo, alia à corpore, alia à fortunâ ducantur. Ad animum verò pertinent virtutes, mores, oratio, artes, studia, res gestæ, &c. ad corpus, partes corporis, color vestitûs, habitus, cum altero Similitudo; & alia ejusdem generis. Ad fortunam & casum cætera. *Canteius de Roman. Republ.*

Marks, and Qualities of the Body. And by these Rules of Custom, *Verres* might probably obtain his Title from his *fordid* and *boggish* Disposition : As *Verres* among the old *Romans* signified a *Swine*, or *Boar-Pig*. *

BEFORE he came to be distinguish'd in the *Political* World, he had run thro' several mean and servile Offices of Life, and amongst the rest had exercis'd the Trade of a *Barber*. Who can help being astonish'd, that the Destruction of the bravest People in the World was to be brought about by such vile and contemptible Instruments !

HOW he came to be known to, or espous'd by, *Marcus Crassus*, I cannot pretend to trace from History ; but being observ'd to be a crafty, busy, and designing Fellow, he was employ'd by him in disposing of his Money to *Usury*: And *Marcus Crassus*, being unwilling the People shold discover his great Wealth, because the greatest Part of it was not very honourably acquir'd, found this *Verres* extremely useful to him, both for the *Concealment* and *Improvement* of his Estate. It was his being in this Secret then, in all Probability, that laid the Foundation of his great Fortune.

WHEN *Marcus Crassus* commanded the Army of the *Romans*, this *Verres* with others was employ'd in furnishing *Cloaths* for the *Soldiers*, and was afterwards question'd for *embezzelling* some of the Money.

NOT

* Vid. *Isidori Gloss. vetus.*

NOT long after this Detection of his *Honesty*, he was employ'd to *bribe* certain Senators for their *Votes* to the *passing* of an *Edit*: He was chose out for this Work, as being known to be a Fellow void of Shame, and not to be put out of Countenance at a Discovery. Here he was again call'd to the Question; a fly Senator, in an Ironical Speech, declaring himself in Favour of *that Law*, but telling the House at the same Time, that, *No doubt, they would wonder at his being on that Side of the Question; but that he had very powerful Reasons to produce them for his Opinion*; and, with that, produc'd the *Bribe* to the Senate, and without Scruple, inform'd them from whose Hands he had receiv'd it.

THESE glaring Instances of *Corruption* in the Conduct of *Verres*, for which at *honester* Times he would have been banish'd the Commonwealth, were now the Qualifications that recommended him to Preferment. For when Virtue and Honour no longer presidèd over publick Affairs, but the City was govern'd by Faction and Avarice, the Views of Men in Power no more regarding the Good of the State, but their own fordid Interest, they had ever some vile Busines on Foot, and of Consequence they wanted *dirty Tools* to go thro' with their *dirty Work*.

FOR such Virtues as these was *Verres* first taken Notice of and caress'd; and by entering into the Mysteries of a wicked Faction, was advanc'd to an Office both of *Honour* and *Profit*: in which he acquir'd Wealth and Power, and seem'd to want nothing but *Honesty* and *Content*. I say, Con-

Content, because his Avarice was never to be satisfied : For in all the Degrees of his rising Fortune, he maintain'd the abject Mind of a Slave, his Thoughts being ever in the Dirt ; so, in Order to grasp what was impossible, Wealth enough to content his craving Soul, he became a Principal in this Conspiracy.

VERRES had one Favourite Son, who, tho' he did not inherit all his Father's Vices, had a Stock of others peculiar to himself. He was a brisk, forward, Person, of a great Assurance, and as Authors describe him *parum pudicus*, neither modest in his Countenance, nor his Conduct. His Education was of the meanest, he was vers'd in no polite Literature, nor had studied *Oratory*, or the *Greek Tongue*, the darling Embellishments and Learning of the Times : But, like a Vagabond, had pass'd his Youth in the Company of Stage-players, Mimicks, Tumblers, and Rope-dancers ; and distinguish'd himself in a publick Manner by his Amours with a *Minstrel*, or *Dancing-Woman*.

IT was thought at first that his greatest Ambition was to become a Stage-player himself, he often practising those Antick Gestures and Songs which he had learn'd by being continually in their Company. These Qualifications render'd his Conversation very agreeable to a Number of luxurious young *Romans*, who minded nothing but Pleasures and Riots.

BUT while he kept this irregular Company, an Accident happen'd that might have been of fatal Consequence, but which, however, ended well enough : For being in the Streets of *Rome*, one

one Night with *Pandarus*, the Trajedian, one of his darling Associates, a Citizen of *Rome* was murther'd in the Dark, and it was suppos'd by the Sword of *Pandarus*. The Affair was examin'd into, but young *Verres* so manag'd his Evidence, in Justification of *Pandarus*, that he was immediately acquitted by the Judges. This Accident alarm'd old *Verres* so far, that he threaten'd his Son, if he did not forsake that Company, to send him into *Asia*. Whether the Son obey'd, or no, is not very evident ; but, by a Circumstance that happen'd after this, we are left to suppose he did not.

FOR *Marcus Crassus*, being one Evening at the Theatre, and seeing the *Dancing-Woman* before-mention'd, who was Young and Fair, perform her Part with several Gestures and Motions design'd to move Desire ; and being to depart for his *Province* in a few Days ; it is said, that he sent for young *Verres*, and imparted his Desire of enjoying this Woman to the Youth ; who so managd the Affair, that she soon follow'd *Crassus* to his *Province* ; nay, and as some affirm, was conducted thither by young *Verres*.

BY this Action he not only highly oblig'd *Marcus Crassus*, but gave a Specimen of his Readiness for any Enterprize which led to his *Interest*. *Crassus* was not only immensely Rich, but very Great in the Commonwealth, and had it in his Power to prefer every one who had any Pretensions to his Favour. Nor was it uncommon in those Days, for Slaves and other mean Persons to be advanc'd in their Fortunes and promoted to Dignity, only by being privy to the Vices of Great Men.

Men. Nor in an Age of Corruption and Degeneracy are any Persons encourag'd, or caref's'd by the Great so much, as the vile Instruments of their Pleasure.

THUS Young *Verres* gain'd extraordinary Preferment, by the only Means in the World that should have barr'd him from it: And a senseless Irregularity, back'd with pushing Assurance, gain'd him all the Advantages of Wisdom and Experience. A Jigg and a merry Song were as meritorious in him, as the deepest and most important Schemes of Politicks would have been in another: As if being a Buffoon was the Thing that qualifis'd a Man best for a grave Employment.

BUT *Marcus Cato*, tho' he liv'd in this luxurious Age, was of a different Opinion: For he oppos'd *Muræna*, when he stood for the Consulship, by objecting that he had been in *Asia*, and was a *Dancer*. For Dancing was accounted such a Levity, as only was excusable in the Madman and Drunkard, and therefore not to be admitted in a State-Officer. It was look'd upon, by the People of Gravity and Morals, to follow only at the Heels of intemperate Feasting, to suit with Hours and Places of idle Pleasure, and the utmost Effeminacy. † It was one of the Luxuries that was deriv'd to *Rome* from her *Asiatick* Conquests, and therefore *Cato* judg'd that a Man, who could spend any Time in practising such an Exer-

† Nemo enim fecit saltat sobrius, nisi fortè insanit, neq; in solitudine, neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Intemperasti convivij, amæni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema, Saltatio. Cis pro *Muræna*.

Exercise, was not worthy to rule as a *Magistrate* over a wise and valiant People.

CATO, therefore, was no ways instrumental in the Advancement of Young *Verres*; the Faction, by which he was rais'd, were of another Genius and Spirit, and found out a new Maxim in Politicks, which was, that a *Drole* in his proper Place might make a very *accomplish'd Statesman*. For it being their Busines to gain over the Voices of the Senators to back their Schemes, || *Catiline*, for that End, had order'd his assur'd Friends to found and find out their darling Vices; that each might be gratified in the *Weakness* of their several *Passions*, or that *Taste* of *wickedness* in which their Hearts most delighted. The *Avaritious* therefore were drawn in by the Engagement of a *Bribe*, the *luxurious Appetites* with a *sumptuous Entertainment*: The *Sportmen* were presented with *Hunting-Dogs* and *Horses*; and the *Sporters*, in another way, were furnished with Choice of the most *exquisite Harlots*. For some Men will certainly do as much for a *Feast* or a *Harlot*, as others will do for a *Bribe* or *Preferment*: And thus baited, they often gave their Suffrages without knowing wherefore, or for what Reason.

THE searching out of Tempers, and adapting these Allurements, was one of the Provinces of young *Verres*, and which, they say, he discharg'd with Abundance of Address.

|| Uti cujusque Studium ex ætate flagrabat. aliis scorta præbere; aliis cines, atque equos mercari; postremò neque sumptui, neque modestiae suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios, fidosque sibi facere
Sæc. in bello Catilin.

WHAT *Salust* remark'd of *Catiline* himself, might as justly be applied to young *Verres*, that he was grasping and desirous of Other People's Money, but profuse of his own. It is said, that he was liberal both with Reason, and without it: And tho' he was very eager in the Pursuit of Wealth, he squander'd it away again in Luxury and Vanity.

AS he had given so many Proofs of the Looseness of his Morals and want of Integrity, so neither did he want to establish any Character in the Point of Religion: But rather labour'd to convince the People, that he had as little Veneration for the Gods, as the Fashion of the Times seem'd to dispense with, and as his Conduct in other Parts of Life requir'd him to have. And one notorious Instance of his Impiety appear'd to the Populace, who judge best by such publick Testimonies, in that having taken a Piece of Ground which belong'd to the People, with Design to build himself a House there, it happen'd that a *Temple* dedicated to one of the Gods stood upon Part of this Ground which he had hir'd: Young *Verres* immediately inclos'd the whole Spot, modell'd out his Building, demolish'd the old Temple, and on its Foundations laid a new Structure, in which he design'd to entertain his Guests with Midnight Dances.

LENTULUS Sura, was a Person of no extraordinary Dignity in the Commonwealth, however got into Office by the Interest of *SULPITIUS* a *Patrician*, who was his Kinsman: And having no great Foundation of Fortune, he

he willingly imbark'd in this Conspiracy, with Hopes to inrich himself by the Spoils of the People.

QUINTUS Annius, was a busy Senator of a shatter'd Fortune, who by changing Sides, and adhering still to the strongest, got into Offices of great Honour and Profit; having the Management of a great Part of the Publick Monies, and likewise expecting to grow very wealthy all at once, he fell in and was subservient to the Measures of the Conspirators, among whom he soon became a Principal.

WHAT gave the greatest Alarm and Surprise, when the Discovery of this pernicious Design broke out, and the minutest Circumstances came to an *Eclaircissement*, was to find, that the *Pontifex Maximus*, or *venerable HIGH-PRIEST* was also suspected of conniving at their Crimes. Whether he were at first a Principal, or not, was not so evident; but most agreed, that he was not. The Faction, it seems, finding he might be useful to them, by Reason of his Character and great Authority, won him over by a *considerable BRIBE*, to entertain a good Opinion of their *Probity and Design*.

THESE were the Leeches, that were to suck up the Wealth of the People of *Rome*; these, the Tools and Instruments that were to unhinge the publick *Liberty* and *Constitution* of the State, *Crudelissimum hominum Genus, & ab omni penitus humanitate derelictum*, as *Porcius Latro* stiles them: A most barbarous and abandon'd Set of Men, that relinquish'd and shook Hands with all Nations

tions of Humanity. Many of them, as we have seen, were contemptible for the Meanness of their Descent, but much more contemptible by their Vices and Character. To consider them in their true Light, we shall find they were of Principles and Capacity suitable to the Cause in which they were engag'd. Nor did there want a Tribe of *less* Figure, and more mechanick Qualifications, who were assisting to them in several Parts of their detested Schemes. They knew that dull Brains might perform some Offices best, and with least Suspicion of any latent Views. And what has Oratory, what have the Arts and Sciences to do in the Execution of Rapine, Fraud, or Oppression? A Man may make an exquisite Cheat, without having studi-ed the Flowers of *Demosthenes*; and be able to give a **BRIBE** *ex more Majorum*, without read-ing the Laws of *Solon* or *Licurgus*.

CATILINE therefore shew'd that he un-derstood Men, when he cull'd and selected such as were most profligate and degenerate in their *Morals*, and where guilty of no *Scruples* arising from offend-ed *Vertue*, or the *Stings* of *Conscience*: Since, if he had happen'd to have made choice of one Honest *Roman* in the beginning of his Scheme, it might have prevented all the Wor-kings of the Faction, who were to support and aggrandize themselves on the ruin of their fel-low *Citizens*.

WE have run thro', I think, the Characters of the *principal Projectors*, and Agents in this in-humane Conspiracy, the Master-Engines that first put this Mischief into Action, and gave it

it Motion. But there were other *latent* and *conceal'd* Adherents, Men of the first Rank for Quality and Power, (whom since *Cicero* declin'd to name to the *Senate*, I shall forbear to brand here with Ignominy) whom the Hope of being at the very Top of Affairs, rather than any Necessity, or Want of Fortune, drew in.*

IT cannot be expected, neither would it be of any Consequence, to decipher the *subordinate* and *inferior* Tools, the *Plebian* Rogues, that were distinguish'd by no Titles, nor dignified with any Offices, or Honours in the State, but whose *vile Assistance* was absolutely necessary in bringing about this Destruction, and who therefore were to be *gratified* with a *Dividend* of the *Spoil*.

A MONGST this infamous Scum of the Conspirators, I cannot, however, help taking notice, that there were some *Women*, † who by prostituting themselves were supported at a most expensive and extravagant Rate. In this Number, of most Eminence, were *Aurelia Oristilla*, *Sempronia* and her two Neices, and *Fulvia*, a kind of Bawd or Procurers. These were all *foreign Concubines*, but *Inmates in Rome*, and came either from *Gaul* or *Belgia*.

CATILINE had also let into the Secret a Number of other Foreigners, who, he knew, would

* Erant præterea complures paulò occultius consilii hujus Participes, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quæm inopia, aut alia Necessitudo.

† Mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primò ingentes sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant. Sal. in bellō Catilin.

would readily enter into any Design against the *Romans*; partly on account of the establish'd Hatred betwixt them and the City, and partly on the Prospect of enriching themselves by the illegal Plunder.

THERE was at that time in *Rome* several of the *Allobroges*, a People of *Gaul* or *Germany*, to whom *Catiline* made himself a Patron, by promoting their Interest, and that of their Country. The Negotiations of these People were concerted and transacted between *Catiline* and *Vulturius*, one of their Chiefs, and who, before his Residence at *Rome*, had come thither as an *Emassador* from his State. *Vulturius*, great as he was in his Republick, and as much as he was caress'd by the servile *Patricians* at *Rome*, prefer'd the Reputation of Policy and Depth of Intrigue, to the Ostenstation of making a Figure. His Head and Heart were ever employ'd to aggrandize the Affairs of the *Allobroges*, and as one probable Step towards it would be to drain the Treasures of *Rome*, it was thought that *Catiline* took all his Measures and Schemes of his Conspiracy from the *Plans* and *Counsels* which the subtle *VOLTURIUS* laid down to him. These People therefore were admitted into the Cabal, and made of the Conspiracy, these were to have a large share of the Wealth of *Rome*; and in return they had engag'd to have an Army of *Barbarians* ready to march to *Rome*, when their Plot should be executed, in order to keep the Populace in Awe.

THERE was a Law among the *Romans*, that none should be capable of Employments in
the

the Commonwealth, except the *Citizens* of *Rome* and other *Natives* of *Italy*. This Law, therefore, excluding these Foreigners from holding Offices, they by being at the Head of this Faction, and by that Interest capacitated to dispose of Offices, set up a Trade of selling the Employments of the Commonwealth for large Sums of Money. The *foreign Courtizans* were, particularly, great Dealers in this kind of Traf-fick ; and *Money* went to them as to a *Market*, where, as in other Markets, without any Respect to Persons, the *best Bidder* was sure to be the *Purchaser*.

NA Y, so general, and well-known was this Commerce, that in some Cafes, their very Female *Attendants* took upon them to *bargain* for publick Places : Those Damsels, who were retain'd to receive the Gallants, and dispose Matters for the Mysteries of Love, were haunted with the *Solicitations* of depending *Candidates* ; and Business of the State, which made a Hurry in the City, was often transacted by the intriguing Head of a *Strumpet's Chambermaid*. *FULVIA* had a very large share in this Trade, and great Court was continually made to her : Being a *Lady* of *extensive Parts* and *large Capacity*, she had the more Power of obliging her Suiters : And according to the Strength of their *Purses* or their *Inclinations*, would procure them either a *good Employment*, or a *Maidenhead*.

I T would be pretty hard to determine, what it was that attach'd Men so much to these *foreign Women*, they being no way desirable for their Beauty ; (and Beauty has been ever look'd

upon as one of the greatest Merits in that Sex) they had neither that Delicacy of Shape, that Air, or Elegance of Features, which charm'd you in the *Roman* Ladies : But were coarse and masculine ; and those monstrous *Protuberancies* of *Breasts* which were seen in all of them, were likelier to move Disgust, than inspire Love. If they had any Charms, they were remote from sight, and known only to their Lovers : But it became modish now to affect things that were *exotic* ; therefore all the Account or Reason which I can find to be given for this deprav'd Taste, was, that *ugly Women* were then *in Fashion*.

I M U S T pass by, as I before observ'd, the other *inferior* Abettors of this Conspiracy ; they being so obscure in Fame, that they never had been mention'd in any History, were it not that they had a share in this flagitious Plot. Let it suffice to say, that when they were swoln to a Number sufficient to begin the Work, frequent Meetings were held to consult upon the proper Measures for bringing about their grand Design.

I T was at one of these Meetings, that *Catiline* made that celebrated Speech, the Substance of which we find at large in *Salust* and others ; and which gives us a great Light into the Views and Reaches of the Faction. The whole Speech, which I judge to have been deliver'd at their first Meeting, would be too long to be crowded into this Pamphlet ; therefore I shall only give the most material Heads, and throw them into the best Method I can, to give the Reader an Understanding

standing and Insight into the monstrous Aims of
this Party.

The Speech of GATILINE to the Conspirators.

Most Noble Romans,

* **B**UT that I know you all, and have approv'd the Strength of your Virtues and Constanty, and mighty Spirits by which your generous Souls are actuated, this glorious Opportunity had vainly fall'n into our Hands, and these Schemes of grasping Power been, at best, but an idle and ill-grounded Hope. You are all acquainted with the Cause of this our Meeting, and every Roman has imparted to his Friend in private the Substance of what I am now about to offer.

LOOK on the Commonwealth, my Friends, as you would on a Prostitute, that is enjoy'd and defil'd by each contending Party, as it is in their Turn to prevail. This is our Turn, and let us keep her Ours: For if some Giant of the State should rise, strong in the Affections of the vile and giddy Multi-tude, and back'd with popular Applause, whose Arm might be of Force to hurl us from this Eminence, say, Romans, where shall we hide our Heads? Shall not we grow degraded, poor, and despis'd? Oppress'd with Wants at home, and Debts abroad? Scorn'd by the proud, and scoff'd at by the Vulgar?

G 2

Trembling

* Ni Virtus, Fidesque, vestra satis spectata mihi foret,
nequicquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna domina-
tionis in manibus frustra fuisset, &c.

Trembling beneath the Rods and Axes of new Magistrates, and lastly, sacrific'd to popular Resentments? — But sure, there is not a Roman in all this Assembly, who wou'd not chuse to die, rather than lose with shame, what he had got by his glorious Ambition. — But why do I talk of Death? I call the Gods to witness, the Power is in our hands; the Means of Safety our own. The Guardian Gods of Rome have left the City; the Senate seems to sleep; a kind of Lethargy is over them: They neither hear, nor see, nor understand, but what we dictate. Let them sleep on, my worthy Friends, nor may they ever wake, till wak'd by Ruine.

WHAT then is wanting but to begin the Business, when the Success of the Event is certain? Methinks, I know your Hearts, I see into your Souls, and there behold the same Affections, Appetites, and Passions, which govern mine: There is a kind of Sympathy betwixt gallant Spirits, and that it is which now gives me this Boldness, first, to propose; then, to lead you to an Enterprize, which in spight of all the haughty Courages in Rome, shall place you high above the Reach of Punishment.

THEN rouse, my Friends, and meet Dominion and Command: Fortune seems in a wanton Fit; she's even prodigal to favour our Designs, and courts us all with Honour, Wealth, and Power. Methinks, tho' I were dumb, the Opportunity, your common safety, and the rich Spoil of Thousands, were call enough to make you snatch the happy Hour, which time may never produce again. But say, Romans, were there Danger in this Enterprize, is not the Advantage worthy of some Hazards? Does not the Wealth of Nations flow into Rome, and here rest as in its proper

per Centre? Are not her Nobles, Senators, nay, Plebeians, cloath'd in Gold? Is she not drunk with Luxury and Pleasure? So giddy, that she does not know herself? Say, then, Romans, is there a Heart in all this Circle so little Roman, as to raise a Phantom, and form an Image of a groundless Danger? Are not the Legions all at our Command? the Prætors, Tribunes, and Centurions, our own? Have not our Friends, the Allobroges, here present, already muster'd an Host of disciplin'd Barbarians, who shall march to Rome when we give the Word, to curb and tame that most unruly Beast, the Multitude, should it presume to spurn at our Authority? And, lastly, to give a Credit and Sanction to our Cause, does not the Pontifex Maximus himself, the venerable Father and Head of our Religion, espouse our Schemes, and assist their Fortune with his Prayers and Counsels?

THINK then the Business done; imagine you see the whole Herd of Senators dispoil'd; and every proud luxurios Roman stripp'd of his Pride, and humbled with his Wants; the Lictors, Fasces, Axes, all at your Command: Your Palaces crowded with your Clients, waiting and bowing at a distance for a Smile; the Ambassadors of conquer'd Nations suing and kneeling to you as to the Gods, and even tributary Kings courting your Assistance. Your Wealth will know no End, nor will even Prodigality itself, with all the witty Luxury of Men, be able to weary it out. Whose will the whole World be, but yours? All that the Avarice of our Ancestors has been Ages in heaping up, will be yours at one happy Stroke: Nor shall a Roman eat, or breath, but by our Permission.---- This Province shall be allotted to bold Cethagus, That to Lentulus: Rome to Us All. Is there a Palace

Palace which you would possess, or an Enemy whom you would kill? Is there a Beauty you would enjoy? Whose Wife, whose Daughter, or whose Boy shall be found in Rome, that the glad Husband and willing Parents will not be proud to bring to your Embraces, and make a Merit of their Infamy. We having the Wealth, all Things else will be subservient to Us: For Wealth commands more than the Immortal Gods: The whole Universe obeys it; the Neck of Rome is fitted for our Servitude, and the Iron Yoke of Power is forg'd, that shall bind her down to Subjection.

T H E N, in Spight of hated Cato, or, that new Fellow Cicero, whose Fasces shall be trodden in the Dirt, we will proceed in our Enterprize. Let them bellow out for Liberty, till they crack the Walls of the Senate, yet they shall perish in their boasted Virtue. Ambition is a Burthen too great for such weak Minds as these; it takes its place in nobler Spirits, whose Thoughts are in the Stars; it is the Virtue of the Gods and Godlike Men.

S I N C E then propitious Fortune puts it to our Choice either to command or obey, to lead the World, or to be led as Slaves; say, Confederates, is there a Man in all this noble Crowd, who would become a voluntary Slave? If there be One, let him go forth into the Forum, and give his Neck up to the inglorious Yoke; let him drag out a miserable Life, exposed to Want, and Infamy, and Scorn.---- No,---- your generous Minds disdain the ignoble Thought; I read a forward and aspiring Genius thro' every Look around Me: Therefore I need not ask your Approbations; Wealth, Glory, and Success, be with you all, my Friends; and be sure of Catiline both for your Friend and Servant.

I DON'T

I DON'T remember in History an Harangue made up with more Art, and Insinuation than This of *Catiline*; especially if we consider the Persons to whom it was address'd.

HE animates them to the vilest Depredations and most flagrant Crimes, with Notions of Glory and Honour : But the Baits and Temptations, which he threw in their Way, shew'd that he understood the Depravity of Nature, and knew how to strike in with all its Appetites. He consider'd them as a Crew of profligate and abandon'd Wretches, and therefore very cunningly speaks to their Vices. He tells them of Wealth, of Power, and of Revenge ; of raising their Interests, and destroying their Enemies ; of commanding what Women and Boys they lik'd ; giving them in this a Touch of his *own Taste*, but very slyly avoiding to declare what his own particular Views were.

HIS Speech therefore met with a general Approbation, as they had but one Mind among them all, that is to say, one wicked Mind to *destroy* their Country. But, in Respect of Friendship one to another, they had no Tie or Disposition to it, any longer than their common Interest or Safety obliged them to unite. For a Friendship grounded upon Virtue is the only lasting Friendship ; but theirs having no Foundation, but a political *Confederacy* to carry on *Mischief* and *Ruin*, every one of them had some *private* Views of his own, independant of his *Fellow Thieves* : So that it would not be improper to say that, at that Time, there were as many

Con-

Conspiracies against the State as there were Men in Office.

CATILINE, † having ended his Speech, as it is reported by several Authors, took the Blood of a Man, whom he had caused to be murther'd for that Purpose, and having mix'd it with Wine, drank a Draught of it to the Conspirators, and made it be carried round to them in Cups, such as were used at the most solemn Sacrifices. With this horrid Ceremony, each took an Oath of Secrecy to the other, binding themselves not to give the least Hint to any Person, tho' it were to save a Father, Brother, or most intimate Friend from inevitable Destruction. So that, by this Confederacy, all the Ties of Blood and Nature were to be cut off; the dearest and most tender Unions to be broke; and Friend and Foe to be sacrific'd to their Schemes without Distinction.

THEY proceeded next upon the proper Measures of executing their Plot; the Resolution was, as may be seen by *Catiline's* Speech, to seize upon the *Wealth* of all the People of *Rome*, and *share* it among *themselves*. Thereupon, *Portions* and *Dividends* were appointed and mark'd out for each Man according to his Dignity.

B U T

† Fuere ea tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitâ, cum ad jusjurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse. *Salust.* in Bell. *Catilin.* Vide etiam *Lucium Florum*, *Dion.* *Cass.* *Tertull.* in *Apologet.* &c.

B U T as every private Man's Riches were not to be discover'd, while they were in his own Hands, they made use of a *Stratagem* to incline the People to bring forth their Money *voluntarily*, and that was by publishing a Proposal to give a most *extravagant* Interest for Money, and *this* upon the *Publick Faith*. The Avarice of that Age was so tempted by this *Bait*, that not only the *Roman Citizens*, but People from all Parts of the Empire, *crowded* to dispose of their *Money* upon this *profitable Scheme*.

W H E N they had by this Contrivance got into their Possession the Wealth of the *Roman Empire*, they purchased the *Lands* and *Palaces* of the *Patricians* and others; but the very *Sums*, with which they made such *Purchases*, soon return'd into their Hands again: For the Hope of extravagant Gain had so *infatuated* the People of that Age, they strove who should be most forward in *selling* their *hereditary Patrimonies*, to raise an *imaginary Fortune* by this *new* and *promising Adventure*.

T H O' they had got into their Possession whatever they could aim at, yet so hasty and violent were our Conspirators in their Grasping, that they minded nothing but *catching* at the *Spoils* Even before the *Scheme*, that was to *secure* them in the *Possession* of their Plunder was brought to Maturity; which, no doubt, was the *overturning* the *Liberty* of the *Commonwealth*, and setting up some *other Form of Government*.

H

THESE

THESE Proceedings alarm'd several of the *wise* and *honest* Men of the City, particularly *CATO*, and *CICERO* the Orator: Who mov'd the Senate concerning these Things, upon Suspicion of the lurking Mischiefs that lay at the Bottom of their Proceedings. Upon this, several of the *inferior* Agents of the Party were apprehended and examin'd; among the rest, one *Quintus Curius*, who had been a busy Instrument in the most *secret* and *roguish* Part of their Transactions. By him the Senate were let into a most horrid and surprizing Scene of Villany; yet, when the *Conspirators* came upon their Trials, I don't find that he ever appear'd, not even against *Catiline* himself; which made it currently suspected, that he was *carried off*, or *spirited* out of the Way by the *Contrivance* of the *secret* Abetors of this Conspiracy.

NEW Discoveries, however, were every Day made against the *Conspirators*, and the *honest* Part of the Senate judg'd the Proofs so strong, that it was necessary to free their Country from these Vipers, who had done more Mischief than all the Devastations of *Marius* and *Sylla*, or any the most bitter foreign Enemies to the *Roman State*.

BUT now the most surprizing Part of the History begins to open: For the *Conspirators* aware how Things were going, thought it Time to bestir themselves in their Defence: And as they were Masters of all the Money in the City, and knew the Corruption of the Age and of the People,

People, they did not despair of coming off in Spight of Conviction.

CATILINE, therefore, whose Cunning never forsook him at a Pinch, cast about with all his Industry for the proper Means to save both their Lives and Fortunes ; which he knew could not be done without first securing a Majority of the Senate in their Favour. In order to this, the Assistance of *Hortensius* now became essential, with whom he had been at the greatest Variance for a considerable Time : For, by his Intrigue and Interest, he had so far oppos'd *Hortensius*, as utterly to throw him out of all Office. But considering the Nature of the Man from a Circumstance before cited, which happen'd when he was *Quæstor*, or *Treasurer* of the *Army*, he believ'd there was a Way to touch his Passions : they coming, therefore, to a Conference upon the Subject, *Hortensius* was so mov'd with the Strength of *Catiline's* Arguments, that the forgiving Man laid aside all Resentments, and undertook to *skreen* the *Conspirators* from *Punishment*.

UPON this the *Conspirators* once again took Heart, and grew so bold, that not one of them fled in Apprehension of the Consequences : They knew well, that when their *own Party* was join'd to that of *Hortensius*, it would turn the Scale of the Senate in their Favour.

NOTWITHSTANDING this new Amity struck up betwixt *Hortensius* and *Catiline*, the Reason of which every body pretended to interpret, the honest Party proceeded vigorously in their Prosecutions, and, however they should be

overpower'd with *Numbers*, were resolv'd at least to shew an *Inclination* of serving their Country.

T H E first, who was question'd upon the *Villanies* of this Conspiracy, was *Lentulus Sura*, and he was charg'd with being a Principal. Many of the Witnesses prov'd that he had taken an immense Sum of the People's Money; but what avail the strongest Proofs, where Men are preposseſſ'd, and determin'd to acquit? After many Harangues made on both sides, *Sura* was clear'd by the *Majority* of *two Suffrages*.

I T is impossible to express what a Damp was struck upon the Spirits of the People, when this was known thro' the City: But what added to their general Melancholy, was, that *Cicero* the Orator, and even *Cato* himself *went out of the Senate before the Trial of Sura was over*; whereby they gave the malignant Party the Advantage of two Voices. It look'd, indeed, as if Justice was fled from Men, and *Bribery* had driven Virtue quite out of the Senate.

W H E T H E R they did this thro' a Contempt of the Proceedings, or thro' Despair of doing any good, is altgether uncertain; but by their Conduct afterwards they clear'd themselves from all the Suspicions that were at first advanc'd. For *CATO* penn'd several vehement Harangues, writ with a noble and masculine Eloquence, and which seem'd to have in them a Taste of the Spirit of Old *Rome*, when it enjoy'd its Liberty. These were all sign'd with the Name of *CATO*, and dispers'd publickly among the People: The Design of them was to expose

expose the Guilt and Villany of the *Conspirators*, and, if possible, to shame the Senators from siding with them.

B U T Corruption was now grown so common and publick among great Men, that it almost ceas'd to be thought infamous ; and all the Virtue that was left in *Rome* was in the common People. This *Lentulus Sura* understood so well, that when he was acquitted of the Prosecution by the Majority of two, as is before mention'd, he having brib'd some of his Judges, he was so free to complain to his Friends, || *That the Money which he gave to one of them was a needless Charge, since one Suffrage would have been sufficient to have clear'd him.*

T H E next, who came upon Trial, was *Quintus Annius* and now Affairs took another very unexpected Turn ; for by what happen'd in the Case of *Lentulus Sura*, there were but small Hopes of any of the Delinquents being brought to Justice. For whether it was that *Hortensius* had any private Grudge to *Annius*, or whether the Faction thought it advisable in good Policy to suffer one of their *Members* to be sacrific'd to appease the popular Fury ; it is certain, that *Annius* was found guilty of every Fact laid to his Charge, which gave no small Content to the suffering Multitude. For a Dawn of Hope now began to shine again in *Rome*, and Liberty seem'd, as it were, to rear its drooping Head. It was
thought

|| Frustrà, inquit, impensum quod alteri Judicūm datum est : Satis quippe erat, si unā tantum sententiā solutus abiisse. Plut. in vitâ Tull. Ciceronis.

thought, the malignant Party were losing Ground apace in the Senate ; the People expected not only to see their Wrongs reveng'd by the *Death* of the *Conspirators*, but *Restitution* made them, for what had been so *notoriously plunder'd* from them.

I T now began to be the Discourse, that *Sura* should again be call'd to Question, nor be allow'd to plead his former Acquittal, in Disappointment of the Senate's Enquiries, since, as it appear'd to Men, they were satisfied of his Guilt. But this Interval of Joy was of a short Continuance, nor did it in the least terrify *Catiline*, who by his own Management, and that of *Hortensius*, had made all safe in Respect to hi felf. For *Hortensius* now was like an hir'd Stage-player, who being paid for acting, is oblig'd to act whatever Parts are assign'd him, without regarding whether the Characters he represents, make him the *Patriot* or *Betrayer* of his *Country*.

T H E day, that was appointed for *Catiline's* Trial, now being at hand, this great Master in Subtlety, to shew how well he could dissemble, appear'd in the Senate, attended by *Hortensius*, with all the Tranquillity of an innocent Man, who was fearless of any thing being imputed to him.

CICERO with his accustom'd Eloquence, open'd the Charge against him, alledging, that in all his Conversation with the Bar, he had never met with stronger Proofs against any Man, in any Cause either Civil, or Criminal : And then

then addressing himself to the Senate, he added, *If a Proof that amounts to certainty from all its Circumstances, be of any Weight with you, Catiline must be found guilty in your Sentence.* This was answer'd by *Hortensius* in a palliating Harangue; in which he complimented the Criminal upon his *Integrity* and *clean Hands*; and endeavour'd to lessen the Credit of the Evidence against him. And after *Hortensius* had finished the Defence, *Porcius Latro* seeing which way things were likely to go, stood up, and with much Oratory exaggerated the Charge; saying, *if such Crimes went unpunish'd, perhaps, it would be the last time that ever the Gods would put it in their Power to serve their Country.*

B U T no Arguments, nor Instances of Guilt had any Influence upon Men, who seem'd determin'd in their *Judgments* before they heard the *Merits of the Cause*: Not the Fear of drawing upon them the Hatred of their Fellow Citizens, not the imminent Danger their Country must run, from the escape of these Delinquents, could get the better of a spreading *Corruption*. They, who were at first innocent, made themselves criminal by defending the Guilty; shewing plainly that the Warmth which they had express'd against the Criminals, was thro' Anger for not having been let into the Secret, and made Partners in the Profits of so successful a Robbery; and that they had Inclinations as mischievous and base, as the most malignant of the Conspirators.

A CERTAIN Author relates, that the Day before *Catiline's Trial* came on, *Hortensius* went

went about from one Senator's House to another, and speaking to them one by one in their Closets, there made use of those *Golden Arguments* which in this infamous Age were found irresistible, and which made *Catiline's* Affair safe. Nor were these corrupt Practises any Secret to the *Romans*, who knew very well what it was that brought about this *new Confederacy* of *Hortensius* with *Catiline*. They saw the Friends, Creatures, and Clients of *Hortensius* immediately obtain Offices by the Interest of *Catiline*; and that the two Statesmen play'd the Game into each others Hands by turns, in order to aggrandize themselves on the publick Ruin: Now dividing, then uniting, as the Scene of Affairs happen'd to shift. Nor is there any thing more certain, than that at this very time, tho' *Catiline* was sav'd by the Management of *Hortensius*, and *Hortensius* aggrandiz'd by the Interest of *Catiline*, they secretly hated each other, and tho' the Circumstance of Affairs now made an *Union* necessary to them both, yet each privately resolv'd to ruin the other, whenever he should find a fit Opportunity. For Envy and Avarice always accompany each other, and each would be for grasping the whole Spoil of the Publick to himself.

U P O N the Acquittal of *Catiline*, a kind of Despair spread it self thro' the Populace, nor was ever any thing so miserable as their present Condition. It was melancholy to look into the Wants of private Families; they who but for some Months before, liv'd in Ease and Plenty, were reduc'd to Streights for the very Necessaries of Life, while they saw these triumphant *Robbers*,

Robbers, laughing at Justice, and shining in Gold and Purple, spurning and insulting the People whose Wealth they were drest in. Nor durst the poor Sufferers *reproach* their Plunderers, because it was *penal* to *bespatter* their *Honour*. For tho' Virtue fears no Calumny, Vice is tender, and will not be touch'd too rudely.

THE Senate also discover'd, what *vast Quantities* of the People's Money had been given to *foreign Courtisans, Bawds, Parasites, and Ganimedes*, who had made young *Verres* their Agent in this Affair: and the Resolution at first was to have the Agents punish'd: But finding by the Acquittal of *Catiline*, that the Stream of Corruption run so very violent, that there was no bearing up against it; they despair'd of contributing to the Relief of the Commonwealth, and therefore were determin'd to let the Matter rest: As a Pilot, who, when the Tempest runs so strong that the Ship is not to be managed, quits the Helm, and trusts the Safety of it to the Immortal Gods.

W H A T afterwards became of *CATILINE* and his *Adherents*, shall be the Subject of another Discourse, as the Author can find Leisure to collect and digest the Materials for this History.

(78)

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THE
CONSPIRATORS,
OR, THE
CAUSE
OF
CATILINE.

PART II.

By the Author of the First Part.

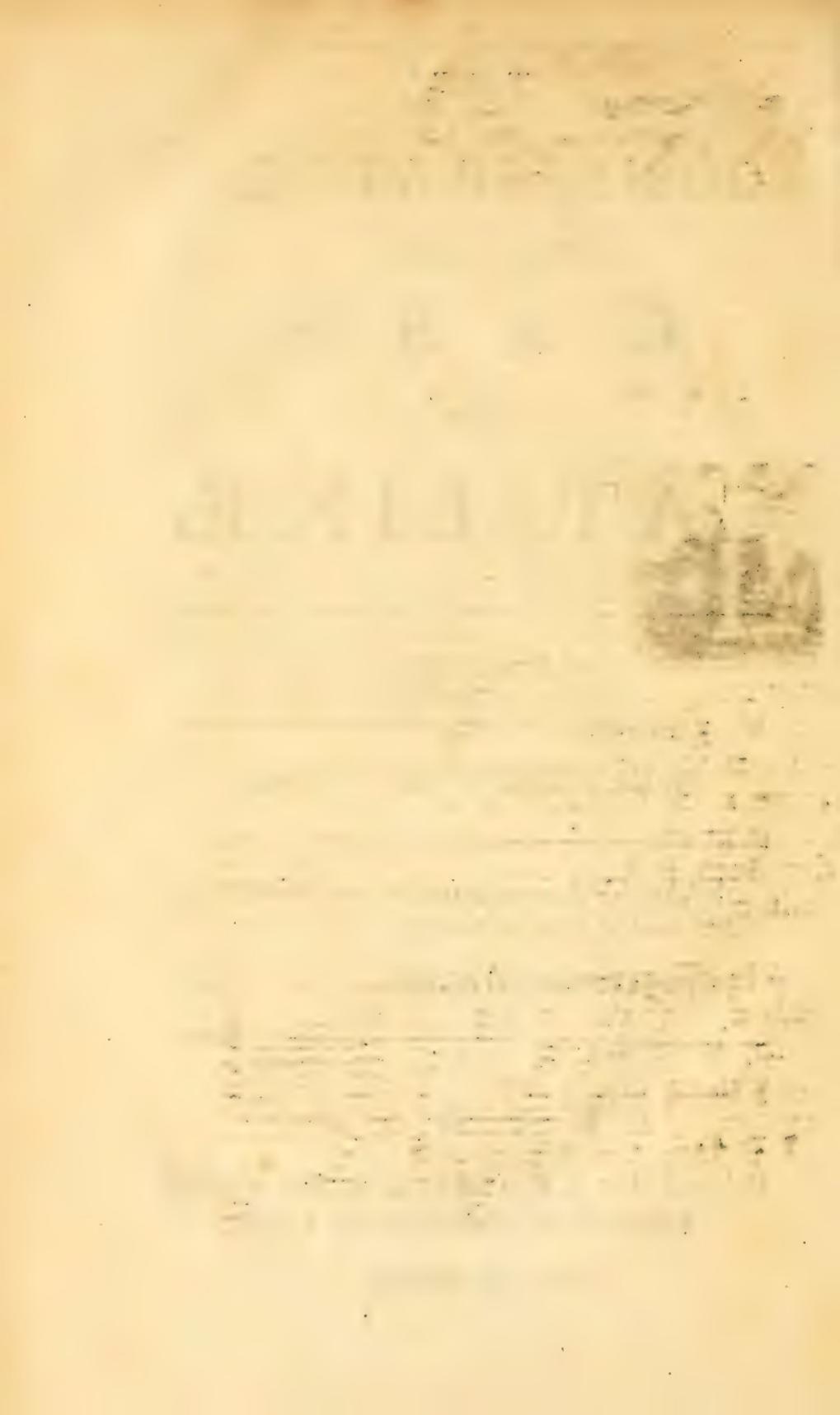
*This Rome, that once was us'd to conquer Others,
Has made a shameful Conquest of Herself!*

Jusque datum Sceleri canimus, - - - - Lucan.

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THE

PREFACE.

IT is a remarkable Observation of MENANDER, the Comic Poet, that the * *Suspicion* of having done any thing, raises a greater *Clamour* upon a Man than the very *doing* it : and so likewise the Suspicion of any Pamphlet's being intended a *Libel* throws more Scandal on the Person, at whom it is suppos'd to be levell'd, than the most open and declar'd *Invective* ever did. Such, in both Cases, is the Injustice of Calumny !

WHAT gave me a Ground for this Reflection, is, that there are Persons, it seems, in the World, who are for turning every thing into a *Libel*. I will be bold

* Τὸ δοκεῖν, διαβολὴν ἐγε μείζω τὸ ποιεῖν.

Menand. ex Stobæo.

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to say, that a Malicious Calumny cannot hurt a Great Man ; (tho' it may reflect Disgrace upon the Author,) nay, on the contrary, it often does him a Service. For Men are apt to *pity* him whom they see *injur'd*; and when they perceive a Great Man has been *wrong'd* in *one* Thing, it happens that they will not believe even the *Truths*, that are spoken *against* him. But wicked Men, indeed, have reason to *apprehend* Truth, and therefore it is no Wonder that they *prosecute* it.

JULIUS Cæsar, who was the most merciful, and generous of all the *Romans*, never punish'd any thing that was said *against* him : and the Wise *AUGUSTUS* follow'd his Example in this Particular. He fear'd no invidious Enquiry into his Actions ; but allow'd the Populace such a Liberty of descanting on him, that he never punish'd any Libels against his Person : and if we may credit Suetonius on this Head, he did not only not dread them, but took great Pains to answer and refute them : *nec expavit, & magnâ curâ redarguit* *.

* Sueton. in Vita Augusti Cæsaris,

THIS

The PREFACE.

THIS he did by the honest Advice of his First Minister *Mæcenas*, who gave it as his Opinion, that Calumnies never hurt a good Prince, whose Virtues can stand the Test, and are Proof against them; but are only dangerous to wicked Governors. And *Augustus* himself was often heard to say, that the Wickedness of the Times requir'd, and deserv'd a Freedom and Boldness of Speech. Nor did he find this Practice of any small Advantage to him; for by it he discover'd both the Affections, and Grievances of his People: The latter of which, had *Mæcenas* been a corrupt Minister, he would have endeavour'd to have kept from his Knowledge; and of Consequence, would have advis'd him to suppress and punish every thing that was written upon the Times as *Libels*.

TIBERIUS, who succeeded him, and was a Prince of another Stamp, took a contrary Method in this as well as every other Respect. To his Eternal Infamy it is recorded, that he forc'd *M. Æmilius Scaurus* to kill himself only for having written the Tragedy of *Atreus*; in which he advis'd the People, who liv'd under the Government of a bad Prince, to be patient, and submit to Tyranny. The Emperor

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would have it that the Poet struck at *him* in the Character of *Atreus*, knowing he had committed many Murthers and illegal Outrages: and therefore, with a Mixture of Wit and Malice, he said, *He would make an Ajax of Scaurus, by forcing him to kill himself*.¹¹

UNDER so vile a Government as this of *Tiberius*, a Man must be mad that would venture to write upon the Times; when every Truth must be Treason. In such an Administration, the most distant Shadow of a Reflection glares in their Eyes, and they are extremely witty and malicious at making Applications. The same flagitious Prince (for his Reign furnishes many Instances of extravagant Tyranny) put a poor Fellow to Death barely for a Jeast: but it was one that carried both Truth and Satyr in it. *Augustus* had by his last Will bequeathed a Legacy to every *Roman Citizen*, which *Tiberius* took no care to see discharg'd. As a great Funeral pass'd one day thro' the Streets, a certain Man with much Bustle and Difficulty prest thro' the Croud, and whisper'd something in the Dead Man's Ear. The People flock'd about to know the Mean-

¹¹ Dion Cassius in *Tiberio*.

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ing of this Whim, and enquir'd into the Contents of the Whisper ; when the Person told them, that he had desir'd the Dead Man to inform *Augustus*, that the *Romans* had not yet receiv'd their Legacies. The Informers soon carried this Story to *Tiberius*, who sent for the Man, paid him down his Legacy, and caus'd his Throat to be cut, telling him, *That he might now go himself; and inform Augustus, that One was paid* †.

T H E Freedom of the poor Fellow's Raillery may, perhaps, be stil'd by ill-natur'd People a sufficient Provocation for the Emperor's Barbarity ; but all the Actions of this Prince were of a Piece : His was a Reign of Rapine and Blood ; and therefore we are the less to wonder at this Cruelty. His Fury extended to all sorts of *Wit* and *Learning* ; he found in every Writing some Pretence, or other, for punishing its Authors : He caus'd One Poet to be thrown into Prison, because in his Tragedy of *Agamemnon*, he had not represented that Prince great enough, and that Failure in Character was a Reflection upon *all other Princes*. **CREMUTIUS CORDUS**, the Historian, was accus'd in his Reign,

† Idem & Sueton. in Vitâ Tiberii.

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for praising *Brutus*, and saying that *Cassius* was the last of the *Romans*: for the vile Sycophants and Flatterers of the Court drew this Inference from the Expression, that if *Cassius* were the last of the *Romans*, *TIBERIUS* could be no *Roman*, and consequently no *Emperor of Rome*. Here was *Lese Majestatis Crimen* implied, a Traitorous Intention of deposing *Tiberius*; the Author's *Annals* were censur'd as a factious, dangerous, and treasonable *Libel*, and the Author himself, a seditious Man, in upbraiding the present Times by commending the Times past.

THE Issue of this virulent Prosecution was, that *Cremutius Cordus* was clap'd up into close Confinement, and restrain'd from every thing that could contribute to make a Prison easy. He had all the Rigour shewn him, which, as *Suetonius* tells us, that Emperor practis'd against State-Delinquents: *Quibus custodiae traditis, non modo Studendi solatium ademptum, sed etiam Sermonis & Colloquii Usus*; when they were thrown into Prison, they were not only deny'd the Conversation of Friends, but the Use of Pen and Ink, the Means and Comfort of Study. Thus it has ever been in wicked and Tyrannical Governments; and all that we can say for it is, in the Words

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Words of our homely *English* Proverb, *The Gall'd Horse will Wince.*

THESE rigorous Expositions call to my Mind a shrewd Observation of *BEN. JOHNSON's* in his Play of *Sejanus.*

*It is an Argument the Times are sore,
When Virtue cannot safely be advanc'd,
Nor Vice reprov'd. -----*

WHERE extravagant and invidious Comments will pass for Conviction, there is nothing that was ever written, or spoken, but may be wrested to a *Libel*. There are a Set of Men who infest the Law, and swarm about wicked Governors with the *busy Impertinence of Informations*; These are very ready to scent out Precedents against any Man, who falls under the Spleen of Power, expecting that way to push for Preferment: and where neither Law or Precedent is to be found, they labour with *Rounds*, and *Doubles*, and *Innuendo's*, to scrue an innocent Man into the Snare.

THE Orators of this Kind, are much like the *hungry Wolf*, that was under a Vow of Abstinence from all manner of *Flesh*: but seeing a fat *Hog*, that wallowed

The P R E E A C E.

ed happily in the Mire, his Stomach began to be too powerful for his Conscience, and he thus palliated the Matter to himself; *I have read*, says He, *in some Author, either Ancient or Modern, I can not remember which, that Porcus is Latin for a certain Fish; and therefore tho' I cannot eat him as a Hog, I may make a good Dinner on him as a Fish, and never break my Vow of Abstinence.*

WITH much such Ingenuity of Reasoning as This, are *innocent Men worried by the Wolves of the Law*, where evil Men preside. But to the Honour of our ENGLISH Annals let it be remembred, that we have no such ridiculous Examples of the Rage of Power. The Generosity of English Spirits gives Indulgence to Truth, even when unpleasing: We think, as the Great ISOCRATES did, that *They who dare to utter Truth, ought to be of greater Authority with all Princes, than They who say Every thing to curry Favour, and yet say Nothing worthy of that Favour.* *

* Περὶ καὶ μὲν τὰς πάσι τοῖς μονάρχεις πλέον φέρεται τὰς τὴν αἰνίδειαν ἀποειρημένας, τῶν ἐπαντα μὲν τεος χάριν, μηδὲν δὲ ἀξιον χάριν οὐ λεγόντων.

Isoct. in Epistola ad Philippum.

T H E



THE
CONSPIRATORS;
OR, THE
CASE OF CATILINE, &c.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

HE, that writes upon the History of the Antients, can, perhaps, be look'd upon as no more than a Collector of other Men's Works; and therefore can expect but little Reputation from the Nature of his Performance: But then there is a Judgment requisite to distinguish the profitable from the useless, and giving such Examples as may instruct as well as delight the Readers: And here the Author

thor puts in his Claim for Applause. An ingenious Historian must imitate the Industry of the Bee, who, ranging about for Food, sucks his Honey from the choicest Flowers of the Garden, without meddling with Weeds or Rubbish : And thus he comes Home laden with all the Sweetness of the Season, and discharges his little Burthen for the common Use of his Fellow-Citizens of the Hive. A curious Historian, in the like manner, by collecting the Flowers of all Authors that have wrote before him, and by disposing them into Method and Order, may form a Piece more grateful and useful to Mankind, than reading the prolix Passages, from which they are drawn, at Length in their Originals could possibly be.

I COULD be well enough pleas'd to descant on the Usefulness of Historical Treatises in General, but that the Theme has been very well handled already. I shall content my self therefore with observing, that when the Pen is employ'd on Actions *remote* in Time, both the Author and his Readers have this Advantage, that they are at once divested both of *Favour* and *Prejudice*. To speak for my self, I account this a very peculiar Privilege : I don't know whether I am to compliment my own good Nature and candid Disposition ; but I am sure were I to write of *modern* Facts, especially where the Persons of my *Contemporaries* are concern'd, I find it in my Temper to be so *partial*, that all my *Arguments* and *Characters* would lean on the Side of *Flattery*.

IT is a Remark of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* in his applauded History, that it was not uncommendable in *Livy* to speak the best of his own Citizens: And, where they did ill, to say, that without their own great Folly they had done passing well: For all Historians love to extol their own Countrymen, and where a Loss cannot be dissembled, nor the Honour of a Victory taken from the Enemy and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the Blame on some strange Misgovernment of their own Forces. In the like manner, were I to write the History and fatal Consequences of the *South-Sea Project*, I have such a Veneration for the *fine Spirits* and *uncorrupted Honesty* of my Countrymen, that I should conclude it calculated for the Benefit of the Nation; and, had it not been perverted by some *Fools or Knaves* in Trust, the Scheme must have done passing well.

† A N O T H E R learned Countryman of ours, I remember, says, that judicious Historians generally chuse to give us the Histories of *Commonwealths*, rather than of particular Persons: And, where they give us *Lives*, they are generally of those who have been most *active* in *publick Concerns*. I have so far fallen in with the Sentiments of this Writer, in the Choice of my Subjects, that I have taken Care to treat of Men, in whose Actions the Interests of the Commonwealth have been deeply interwoven. *CATILINE*, 'tis known, was practising the very Subversion

† Mr. Dodwell in his Invitation to the Reading of *ancient History*.

version and Ruin of his Country ; and has left an eternal Reproach on himself and Family, by the detestable Conspiracy in which he was im-
bark'd.

THERE is another prudential Step, which I have endeavour'd to take, and that is, to treat of a *Commonwealth*, rather than of *Monarchy*. I know, as || *SALUST* said in his Oration to *FLIUS CÆSAR*, *Quam difficile, atque asperum factu sit, Consilium dare Regi, aut Imperatori.* Under a Kingly Government, the very Shadow of Direction from a private Man, is construed *Insolence* and *Disaffection*.

AND yet it must be confess'd, that a disinterested Subject is often capable of giving his Prince Advice, and his Prince as often stands in Need of it. For, in a Kingly Form of Government, it is so much the *Interest* and *Security* of flattering *Statesmen* to amuse their Prince with false Shews of Things, to keep him a Stranger to Grumblings and Discontents, and the Sentiments of the Subject on Male-Administration ; that tho' a Country is embarrass'd with *Want* and *Debts* ; its *Credit* sunk, and its *Trade* expiring ; they represent it flourishing in every Branch under his Government ; they call its very *Misfortunes* the *Happiness* and *Blessing* of his *Care* and *Wisdom*, and persuade him the *Prosperity* and *good Fortune* of the Kingdom subsist only under his *auspicious Power* and *Councils*.

THIS

THIS customary Disguise, put on the Face of Affairs in all Governments, brings to my Mind the Fable of the *Quack* and the *Sick Man*: A poor Soul was almost at the Point of Death, under a Complication of ill Symptoms, and the Doctor asks him, Pray, Sir, How do you find your self? *Why, truly,* says the Patient, *I have had a violent Sweat upon me.* Oh! the best Sign in the whole World, says the Doctor. And then a little while after, and he is at it again with a ---Well, but how do you find your Body? *Alas,* replies the suffering Patient, *I have just now such a terrible Fit of Horror and Shaking upon me.*---*Why, this is all as it should be,* says the Physician, *it shews a mighty Strength of Nature.* And then he comes over him a third Time with the same Question again: *Why, I am all swell'd,* says the other, *as if I had the Dropsy.* Best of all, quoth the Doctor, and so he goes his Way. Soon after this comes one of the Sick Man's Friends to him with the same Question, How he felt himself? *Why, truly, so well,* says he, *that I am e'en ready to die of I know not how many good Signs and Tokens.*

IT is just the same Case in Governments: There are *Emperical Statesmen* as well as *Doctors*; that feed Governors with false Representations and Reports of Men, and of Things; they betray their Masters to Dishonour and Ruin, and, as Sir Roger l'Estrange observes, when that find the Vessel sinking, save themselves in the Long-Boat.

EVE R Y body knows, and therefore I need not dwell on this Argument, that Princes are flatter'd,

flatter'd, and impos'd on in the Affairs of State, out of private Views in the Persons that represent, or out of private Compliments to Royal Ignorance. Now, as Kings are accustom'd to nothing so much as to their own Praises ; so they are accustom'd to nothing so little as to hear Truth. This makes it, as I above hinted, much more safe for a Writer that lives under a Regal Form of Government, to employ his Pen on what is transacted in a Republick : For, if he offers to advance any bold Maxims, if he should presume to think that *Princes are accountable for their Time to the People* ; or, as *Milton* in his Answer to *Salmasius* courfely expresses himself, that a *Prince is but a first Servant of the People* ; if he should say, that *Kings are not rais'd to that Eminence, only to be gaz'd at, bow'd to, or reverenc'd* : That, in publick Calamities, they ought to share in the Miseries of their Subjects ; or, as [†] *PLUTARCH* finely observes, that neglecting the Affairs of the People, and pursuing Pleasures, is a Degree of Tyranny in Princes : If, I say, he should take this Liberty of moralizing, it would be call'd a *Contempt*, a *Libel* on the Dignity of the Crown ; and the Law would, perhaps, be strain'd beyond the Letter, to make the Author sensible of his Insolence. But I cannot help concluding in the Words of a very wise Man, *Desperata ejus Principis Salus est, cuius aures ita formatae sunt, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat* ; That Prince's Safety is in a desperate Case, whose Ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is harsh and unpleasant.

[†] In his Comparison betwixt *Sylla* and *Lysander*.

I SHALL take the Liberty of a few more digressionary Observations, which however shall serve to open the Way to my Design in the Continuation of these Memoirs.

IT is common for Men, when they suffer in their Interests, to be very loud in Complaints against the suppos'd Causes of their Misfortunes ; they can look on unconcern'd at the Miseries of their Fellow-Citizens, while they themselves are personally unhurt ; and never stir till the Fire is coming to their own Doors : Then, as *Horace* proverbially reasons,

Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,

WHEN the Flame comes near enough to scorch us, it becomes our own immediate Cafè, and we begin to be upon the Alarm. I am a Lover of Stories, and give me Leave to tell a pleasant one upon this Subject from the ingenious Sir Roger l'Estrange. A certain *Philazer*, in the Time of *OLIVER*, when the *Discontents* of the People were high against the Set of Rascals who had the Administration then in their Hands, was always praising the *Wisdom*, the *Justice*, and *Honesty* of the Government : But a Design being talk'd of for suppressing the *Philazers* Office, our obedient *Fanatick* immediately chang'd his Note, he found out his *Patriots* to be a Set of the most *impious Villains* that ever were plac'd at the Head of a Nation, they were *Murtherers* and *Robbers*, they had cut off the best of Kings that ever reign'd, they had beheaded the Bishops, pillag'd the People, overturn'd the Church, and what was more mon-

monstrous and sacrilegious than all the rest, were now labouring to suppress the Philazers !----- This, in general, is the deprav'd Nature of Mankind, we love, we hate, we obey, for Interest: And the Cause must be from a Want of Sense, or a Want of *Honesty*: And, perhaps, at this Time there may be in the World a most plentiful Lack of both.

MANY among us, who are now murmuring out our Complaints, were once as vehement in the Praises of the Men we take upon us to condemn. I shall not assume the Province of determining which is done with most Reason; for I am resolv'd not to meddle with *domestick Affairs*: I am no *Statesman*, but an *Historian*: What I am doing is with a good Design, to quiet the Minds of Men, and make them ashame of their unreasonable Glamours. Nothing in Nature is so contemptible as a Fool; and one of the most signal Marks of a Fool, is Fickleness of Mind. Let those who fancy themselves so injur'd now, examine the Histories of other Nations, and of other Times, and they may chance to find a great Part of their Reflexions upon their Fellow-Citizens to be partial and *unjust*. To demonstrate this, and with no other View, I have taken the Pains to finish these *MEMOIRS*, and to let Men see that *Villany* is not originally of *English Growth*, but flourish'd beyond the *Alps* many Ages since. Arts and Sciences sometimes die, and seem lost to the World; but after having slept a Revolution of Ages, are discover'd again and reviv'd by some ingenious Spirit: I won't say the same of *Roguery*, because I'll make no Applications.

TO draw nearer to my Design, the unhappy may find some Comfort in comparing themselves to the more unhappy ; and their Anger, against those who have injur'd them, will lessen, when they perceive others have been more strongly injur'd by more flagrant Villains. For my own Part, I am safe, for *CATILINE* is dead ; and I suppose his Spirit is dead with him. All the *Abettors*, *Aiders*, and *Accomplices* of this horrid *Conspiracy* are now no more ; they have long since met the Rewards of all their impious Practises. The *Justice* of the Immortal Gods, which is neither to be *brib'd* by *Gold*, nor *influenc'd* by *Party*, has long since laid hold of these Wretches : An Opinion that I venture to maintain, notwithstanding it is grown so unfashionable, and is so exploded. For there are Men at this Day, with whose Principles *CATO*'s Accusation will suit, that believe *Hell* to be a mere *Fiction*, and that the Souls of the *Good* and the *Wicked* have the same Portion and Allotment after Death. †

B E F O R E I enter upon the Remainder of my History, I think it highly to my Purpose to make some Reflexions upon a Maxim of *MACHIAVEL*'s, which has very much the Air and Countenance of a *Paradox*, to wit, that the *Disagreement* of the *People* and the *Senate* of *Rome* made that Commonwealth both *free* and *mighty*. For it is most evident, that the Agreement of the *Senate*, and the *Tribunes* of the *People*, in suf-
fering

† Credo, falsa existumans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur, diverso itinere malos à bonis, loca tætra, inculta, fœda, atque formidolosa habere. Sal. in bello Catilinario.

ferring *CATILINE* and his *Accomplices* to escape publick Punishment, was as certainly the *Ruin* of that Commonwealth : So that Concord, in this Case, produc'd Confusion, Ruin, and Disorder.

I KNOW that some Politicians strenuously maintain, that *Rome* was a most disorderly Commonwealth, and disturb'd with so many Seditions, that if their great Virtue and military Discipline had not supply'd other Defects, it would have been inferior to any Republick now in the World. It is not to be denied, indeed, but that Virtue, good Fortune, and military Discipline, were the Causes of the *Roman Grandeur*. These naturally produce each other ; where there is Virtue and good Discipline, there will be Order ; and where there is Order, there is commonly good Fortune. And yet I shall not scruple to maintain, tho' it may startle some Men at first View, that all These proceeded from the *Tumults* and *Civil Broils* that arose in the City of *Rome*.

FOR, if we examine all the Tumults that happen'd in *Rome*, from the Death of the *Tarquins* to the Creation of the *Tribunes*, and from thence till the Days of *Marius*, and *Sylla*, and afterwards of our *CATILINE*, we shall find that all these Commotions were occasion'd by some *Incroachments*, which were attempted by the Government against the *Liberty* of the People. For it was a long Time before *Gold* had any Influence in *Rome*, to corrupt the *Virtue* of her *Patriots* : Therefore the *Tribunes* of the People, who were the Guardians of their Liberties, being Proof against all Temptation, never gave up one Tittle
of

of their sacred Rights, which, to their immortal Honour, they kept for so many Ages inviolable.

THE Tribunes thus acting up to the Duty of their Trust, and opposing the most distant Designs of the great Men against the People, were wont to make publick the Transactions of the Senate: The People, by this Means, taking Alarm when they saw their Liberties aim'd at by some new Law, were accustom'd to run tumultuously through the Streets, to shut up their Houses, assemble in Numbers, and so resort in Bodies to the Senate-House, calling out and exclaiming against them: And tho' this Custom may seem extravagant, and a little outragious, yet it produc'd an admirable Effect: For it kept the Great Ones in Awe of the People's Resentments, and hinder'd them from proceeding in any Arbitrary Law.

MACHIAVEL upon this Subject observes, that every City has its peculiar Ways, and this was one peculiar to the Romans: It was the Method they pursued of venting their Discontents, and letting their Superiors know wherein they dislik'd their Proceedings. Let no Man therefore, says he, call Rome a disorderly Commonwealth; for good Examples proceed from good Education, good Education from good Laws, and good Laws from these very Tumults which some take upon them without Judgment to condemn.

CICERO, I remember, says, that the Desires of a free People never tend to the Subversion of

Liberty ; and that their Discontents proceed either from actual Oppression, or from some Danger, which they foresee, of falling into it. And in Case the *People* should be deceiv'd in their *Opinions* of Things, there is nothing more easy than to set them right, if some *Orator* of *Honesty* and *Credit*, will but take the Pains to shew them their Errors : For the *People* have a Capacity of comprehending Truth, they love it, and willingly submit to it. 'Tis therefore doubtless, that the *People* are the best *Guardians* of *Liberty* ; and if we look back into the *Roman History*, we shall find, that from the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, to the Time of the *Gracchi*, which took in the Space of Three Hundred Years, the Civil Broils in *Rome* seldom caus'd *Banishment* ; and much seldomer the Shedding of Blood. I say, that in all that Period of Time, their civil Discord did not occasion the Banishment of more than ten *Romans*, and very few were fatigued with pecuniary Punishments. But in the Time of *CATILINE*, whose History we are writing, when Gold had influenc'd the Minds and Affections of Men, and the *Tribunes* of the *People* so shamefully sold the Liberty of the *Romans*, there was a villainous Harmony in the Senate, the Cause of all the Murthers, Depredations, Taxes, and Innovations of Government which follow'd.

T H E R E was one material Circumstance in the Management of the *Conspirators*, which we forbore to touch upon in the first Part of these Memoirs ; I mean their Oppression of *METELLUS*, a most noble *Roman*. He was, indeed, the Darling of the *People*, and boasted the Spirit of a true *Roman Heroe* : His Notions of Honour

our were so exalted, that he scarce believ'd it possible for a Man to be a Villain, till he was convinc'd of it by many Instances from the Wretches whom he had taken out of Dirt and Misery.

THE Authors of that Age make this remarkable Observation on the Fortunes of *Metellus* and of *Marcus Crassus*. The latter, they say, was so happy as never to have met with *Ingratitude* from any Man; and the Reason was, because he had never *serv'd* any one: But the former, who was a Lover of Mankind, and scatter'd his Benefits with an unceasing Hand, was generally *betray'd* by the Persons that were *inrich'd* by his *Bounty*. His House was an *Asylum* to which all the miserable repait'd for Refuge; and he thought every Man intituled to his Favour, who was unhappy. To be a *Roman*, and be poor, was all the Merit that he look'd for in the Object, on whom he intended to bestow a Benefit; and he judg'd it a kind of Robbery to with-hold his Hand, where Indigence laid Claim to his Protection.

THESE were the Virtues that made *Metellus* ador'd by his Country, and which doubled their Respect and Veneration for those Honours which they paid to his high Birth and Quality; for he was of the first Rank of *Patricians*; and so implicit a Faith did the *Romans* pay to his great Worth and Honour, that if any thing was propos'd in the Senate, the People were attentive to observe which Side of the Question *Metellus* embrac'd, and to that Side they were sure to give their Voices. For it was a Maxim among them, that *the best and most generous Roman in the World must always be*

be in the Right. Nor was the Wife of *Metellus* inferior to her Lord, either in the Honours of her Birth, or Virtues of her Mind: Her good Nature and Benevolence went Hand in Hand with his; and never were two Tempers so equally match'd, except in *Marcus Crassus* and his Wife, in whom there was as remarkable a Concurrence in the Extream of Sordidness.

T H E *Conspirators* therefore hating the Merit and Popularity of the generous *Metellus*, (whose Virtue shone upon them with so strong a Lustre, that, like Owls, and other Birds of Night, that cannot bear the Light of the Sun, they seem'd blinded with his Rays,) plotted together to bring about his Ruine. As the most material Step towards perpetrating their more wicked Designs, the *Cabal*, or *Rabble* of *Senators* of *CATILINE*'s Party, open'd against him, and endeavour'd to blacken him with *Calumnies* and *invidious Accusations*. But *Metellus*, who knew both how dear he was to the People, and how fiercely he should be worried by the *State-Beagles*, disdain'd to give them an *ineffectual Answer*, and determin'd to withdraw himself from *Rome*, which now was grown such a Sink of Corruption, that it was not worthy of the Presence of a noble *Roman*. When many of the Patricians and better Sort gather'd about him, and offer'd him their Service, he would not suffer them to raise a Sedition upon his Account, but was obstinately bent to a Retirement, saying, *Either when the Posture of Affairs is mended, and the People repent, I shall be recall'd; or if Things remain in the present Posture, it is preferable to me to be absent.*

* The

* The Departure of *Metellus* was Matter of Triumph to the Faction, and satisfied both their Wishes and Resentments : For they immediately fell to pillaging his Goods, and made an Edict for the keeping him in Banishment. And from this Period may properly be dated the Beginning of *CATILINE'S Conspiracy*.

METELLUS, having thus withdrawn from *Rome*, was receiv'd with great Favour and Honour at *Rhodes*: And tho' stript of his Fortunes, and a Dependant on that State, he still kept up his old Generosity of Spirit and Love to his Countreymen : For no *Roman*, either distress'd by *Shipwreck*, or under other Necessities, was cast on that Island, but resorted to *Metellus*, and found his Purse open to their Wants : We should not fail of numerous Instances of this his Bounty, had † *Plutarch* left us his *Life* as he intended to have done : But either that Author did not live to perform this desirable Tract, or it has had the Fate of many other valuable Pieces, to be lost by the Injury of Time.

I T H I N K it cannot be displeasing here, to take a short Notice of the Posture of civil Affairs at this *Crisis* in *Rome*; that the Reader, who, perhaps, may conceive an high Opinion of the Dignity of that Commonwealth, may not be so

* Metellus optimis viris ad se concurrentibus, non permisit suâ causâ seditionem exoriri, verum optimâ ratione usus, urbe egressus, inquit: Vel Ego in Patriam revocabor, cum melius Respublica habebit, & Plebs resipiet; vel si eodem modo habebit, abesse praetiterit.

Plut. in Vitâ C. Marii.

† Plutarch in vitâ C. Marii.

much

much surpriz'd at the mean and contemptible Things that were now transacted. † It was an Old Institution at *Rome*, that the Citizen who was qualified to be elected a Senator, must be worth 800 *Sestertia*: But *CATILINE* and his Faction found a way to evade this Law, and procur'd several Vagabond Persons to be call'd up into the Senate. These of Consequence were to make a Trade of their new Honours, and whether the Affair depending concern'd private Property, or some Business of the Commonwealth, they always went on that Side where the most Money was stirring. When such Men as these were once in Possession of this Dignity, their Business was to keep themselves so: In Order to which, they took away from the People their *Comitia*, which was a Priviledge the *Romans* had of meeting at certain stated Times, being lawfully call'd by a Magistrate, to chuse Men, and determine of Things by their Votes. || For had these *Comitia* been continued and allow'd, they were under Apprehensions of being call'd to Account for their *Corruptions*; and as *C. Memmius* in his celebrated Speech upon another Occasion observ'd, *Majus Dedecus est parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse.* *

WE finish'd the first Part of these Memoirs (for a short Recapitulation seems to me very necessary) with the triumphant Acquittal of *CATILINE*, the seeming Conviction of *Annius*, and the Characters of several of the Accompli-

† *P. Minutius de Civ. Rom.*
Antiquo Jure Civ. Romanor. I. 1. cap. 17.

|| *Sigonius de*

* *Salust. in bello Jugurthino.*

cès; But the Enquiries did not end here: The Management of the Conspirators was so intricate and perplex'd, that it lengthen'd out the Proceedings of the Senate, by trifling Diggessions, by proposing insignificant Edicts, to amuse, divert, and delay the important Discoveries before them. For, as we elsewhere have observ'd, there was a false Zeal at the Beginning which shew'd it self in the Senate, and which was to be cool'd and taken off by Degrees, and this was the Work of Time.

WE have already declar'd, by what Artifices this was brought about, in our Relation of the *Trial of CATILINE*; and with what infinite Success, in favour of the *Conspirators*. But upon every new Accusation, there were new Applications to be made to those Senators of a forgiving, pacifick Disposition, who never would give their Votes before they felt the Merits of the Cause. And tho' History has been very severe in its Remarks upon the Proceedings of some of these Senators, concerning the Number of Things which they did against the Sense of the People, and Advantage of the Commonwealth: Yet thus much may be said in their Commendation (which I hope, is some small Degree of Praise) that the corrupt Part of the Senators never voted for one *Edict* or *Resolution* contrary to the *Interest of the People* without being paid for it.

THUS did this Stream of Corruption, like a furious Current that has swell'd above its Banks, bear down every Thing before it, drowning the Neighbouring Plains, sweeping away

whatever oppos'd its way, and leaving a Desolation not to be express'd. Yet, even then, there were several Virtuous and truly Noble Romans, among the Senators; but few were their Numbers, and not able to oppose the mighty Strength which warr'd against them,

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget ----- Virg.*

AND this it was that made the knavish Cabal amongst them great, opulent, and mighty: For it is certain, that if there had been no Men of Honour at that Time in the Senate, the being a Villain would have been a very poor Trade: and thus the little Opposition that was made against them, faint as it was, was sufficient to make them distinguish themselves in that horrid Light, in which we view them at so many Ages distance, but at the same time made them Great.

T H I S artificial way of managing the Senate, it is thought, that C A T I L I N E learn'd from Sylla; who once proposing to the Senate to raise a Tax upon the People of five hundred Talents, *Decius Paterculus*, a Senator, oppos'd it. This *Paterculus* was a Leader of a great Party, a Man of equal Honour, but of much greater Capacity than our *Hortensius*: He made an Harangue against this Custom of plundering the People, and by his Interest, and that of the honest Senators, who join'd with him upon this Occasion, the Proposal was thrown out with Scorn and Disgrace. But Sylla, and his Faction, fancying this Man to be made of a pliant sort of Mettle, tempted him privately with the Offer of a large Bribe, on Condition

Condition that he would joyn with them in passing an Edict for levying the above mentioned Sum upon the Publick. *Paterculus*, being softned with the Offer of the Bribe, told them that they wanted half the Qualifications of Rogues; for you have nothing, *said He*, but the Will, without the Art, Cunning, or Wit, that is necessary in managing difficult and villainous Projects. Thereupon he advis'd them to bring the Affair on again, but that, instead of proposing *five hundred* Talents, they should demand a *Thousand*: and upon Condition they would give half that Sum to be dispos'd of at his Discretion, among the Senators who had no Aversion to Money, he undertook that their Point should be carried.

THE Day being come, when this Affair was repropos'd to the Senate, *Paterculus* took Care to be the first Man, who rose up, and oppos'd this Demand. Looking round him with a Face of dissembled Wonder and Surprize, Most Wise and Noble Fathers, *said he*, Is it not astonishing to hear these Men propose a Tax of a *Thousand* Talents to be raised upon the People, when we could not find the least *Shadow* or *Pretence* for granting *Five Hundred*? It looks to me as if they were confident of succeeding, otherwise they never would have risen thus in their Demands. For my own Part, I must confess, I have so far chang'd my Sentiments upon this Matter, that I would advise every honest *Roman*, who has the least Tenderness, or Concern for the Poor People, to grant this Levy without any further Debate, or Enquiry about the Unreasonableness of it, lest if we again persist to refuse, they should advance their Demand to *Two thousand* Talents.

THUS was this unhappy People banter'd and laugh'd into Misery ; and the Fruits of their Industry, and the Labours of their Years, taken from them in Sport. But, in the History which we are writing, the People must of Necessity be in deplorable Circumstances, when the *Criminals* were themselves the *Judges*, or at least so many of the *Judges* were the *Criminals*. Continual Levies were made upon the People by the presiding Faction, upon the most unreasonable and ridiculous Pretences : whereas the poor People knew very well that all these *Exactions* were dispos'd of in *Bribes* among the *Senators* ; and as often as there was any important Question depending in the Senate, it was attended with a new Tax, which was to be administred to the corrupt Senators like a sweet Draught, in order to make them digest a bitter Pill : Insomuch, that That Form of Government, which, before it was abus'd, maintain'd so beautiful an Order, and for many Ages dispers'd such Harmony in the Minds of Men of all Degrees, now lay upon the Necks of the People, like a heavy Yoak : and many, who lov'd their Country, and would have died in Defence of its Constitution, if the least Innovation had been attempted, seeing how it was abus'd in the Administration, thought Monarchy, and even Tyranny it self, preferable to so corrupt a Senate. For every Thing was now done, which a *Tyrant* in his Lust of Power would have done ; with this Difference, that whereas a *Tyrant* would have done it by his own *Authority*, it now was obtain'd by *Bribery* ; which of consequence was so much more burthensom to the People, because they paid more heavily for it.

B U T

B U T to return to the Series of my Story ;

A S soon as *CATILINE* was acquitted, He and *Hortensius* play'd the Part of two Jugglers, whose Business is to impose on the Croud by Confederacy : And *now* mighty Discoveries were to be made, and great Severities inflicted ; and *now* again, these Discoveries would not amount to any Conviction, and consequently the Expectations of Punishment were disappointed. The great Business that they had upon their Hands, was to amuse the People, and endeavour to take off the Fury of their just Resentments. Every Day produc'd a false Rumour ; and whenever a Conspirator was acquitted, a Report was industriously spread, that He should stand a second Trial. This a little appeas'd the violent Clamours. Another Report, which they caus'd to pass among the People, was, that *CATILINE* and the rest would come *voluntarily*, and *refund* the People's Money.

I N the mean time, to make a little Shew of Justice, they resolv'd to punish certain *Inferior* Persons, who were not in the Conspiracy, but had been subservient to them in carrying it on, without being in the Secret of the Wickedness that was design'd by it. This gave Occasion to many vehement Debates ; and there was much Division touching the Quality of the Punishment that should be inflicted. Some thought, as the People had been so pillag'd and defrauded, that Death could not be too much for such Crimes : But the Number were for mitigating this Sentence, One, who was suspected of being him-self

self guilty, made an Harangue against these Men ; but contended strongly that their Punishment ought not to affect their Lives ; *He was not*, he said, *for having them spar'd to strengthen CATILINE's Party*, but he would advise a Pecuniary Punishment, and that their Persons should be confin'd in strong Hold : That no Applications should be made thereafter either to the Senate, or People in their favour : And that whoever should attempt it, should be look'd upon as an Enemy to the Republick and Common Safety. * This palliating Speech contain'd Reasons for sparing the Conspirators, upon pretence that the Laws had provided no Punishments for such Crimes as theirs ; that it would not be just to make Laws after the Facts committed ; and that tho' the Greatness of their Crimes had exceeded all Imagination, yet he would have them punish'd no otherwise than as the Laws had provided †

THO' these Points were handled with much Art and Eloquence, *CATO* perceiv'd the Cunning and Design of this Harangue, and answer'd it by a fine Oration, which is extant in all its Length in *Salust*. He gives Reasons from the Nature of their Crimes, as well as for the Safety

of

* Placet igitur eos dimitti, & augeri Exercitum Catilinæ ? minumè. Sed ità censeo ; publicandas eorum pecunias : ipsos in Vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxumè opibus valent ; neu quis de his postea ad Senatum referat, neve cum populo agat ; qui alitè fecerit, Senatum existumare, eum contra Rempublicam, & Salutem omnium facturum. Sal. in bello Catilin.

† Nam si digna Pæna pro Factis eorum reperitur, novum Consilium approbo : fin Magnitudo Sceleris omnium ingenia exuperat, ijs utendum censeo, qua Legibus comparata sunt. Idem ibid.

of the Commonwealth, why they should every Man be cut off. He puts them in Mind, how many Times the Gods had sav'd the Commonwealth, but tells them, that the Divine Protection is not to be sought by the Tears of Women; but that Things succeed by Vigilance, good Counsel, and Activity. He likewise reminds them, that *Manlius Torquatus* had caus'd his Son to be put to Death, only for disobeying his Orders; and could it be a Question in that Senate, what must be done with a Crew of profligate Traytors, Plunderers, and Despoilers? And then he proceeded to enumerate the Calamities, which they had brought upon the Commonwealth, the Discouragements that had been shewn to *Virtue*, and *Honour*; instead of which they had introduc'd *Luxury* and *Avarice*, *Publick Poverty*, and *Wealth amass'd in Private Hands*.

WHILE the Affair of Punishment was thus controverted in the Senate, while every Tongue presum'd to name and censure the Guilty, and every honest Heart was wishing that they might receive the Rewards of their Treachery, the *foreign Courtezans*, whom we have mention'd in the first Part of our Memoirs, were extreamly terrified at every Step of these Discoveries, and every Debate that arose upon the Enquiries of the Senate. They expected nothing less than to be made publick Examples to frighten all *Concubines* for the future from meddling with any thing out of their own Way.

IT is pretty observable, that all Countries and all Ages have agreed in their Sentiments in this one Point, that they have thought it a *Grievance*,

vance, that the *Ladies of Pleasure* should be enrich'd by the *Spoils* of the *Publick*. This was a particular Heart-burning at *Rome*; they could not bear to see these prodigal Dames flourishing in the Substance of the *ruin'd* Citizens: And there has been a Time in *England*, when Murmurs have arose from the self-same Discontent; for as Sir *Walter Raleigh* curiously observes, *it hath never griev'd the Subject to give to their King, but when they knew there was a devouring Lady, that had her Share in all things that pass'd.* *

B U T these successful *Harlots* coming off beyond all Expectation, their Transports now were equal to their Fears before. The same prevailing Argument that made others Innocent protected them from too severe a Scrutiny. (*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames!*) Our Authorities, indeed, say, that a certain noble Senator was for bringing them upon Examination, but it was a Work of too much Honesty to be effected, tho' the very Reasons that were used to have them spar'd, should have been turn'd to inhance their Punishments; to wit, that they having sent all their Dividend of the Plunder into the Country of the *Allobrogos*, which was their Native Land, it would be impossible to make them refund, since there was no coming at their Money, or making them give it back at that Distance.

Y O U N G *Verres*, as we have formerly taken Notice, was Agent for these *foreign Courtezans*, in procuring them a Share of Money in the

* In his *Prerogative of Parliaments*. p. 324.

the publick Plunder. *Aurelia* and *Fulvia* were the Two, whose Interest he found most his Account to espouse: His Acquaintance with Gallantries let him so far into the Secrets of the Sex, that he knew all the little Picques and Jealousies that Women are certain to entertain against each Other: He knew how Each desires to have the Preference, both in Esteem and Profit, of the other: And therefore, whenever he trafick'd for *Aurelia*, he inform'd her that *Fulvia* was a Stranger to her Dividend; and so, on the contrary, when he traded for *Fulvia*, he inform'd her that *Aurelia* knew as little of her Profits. But when the whole Matter came to be unravell'd to the Senate, and all young *Verres*'s Transactions were laid open, it was no longer a Secret, what immense Summs both these Strumpets got by partaking in the Gains of this Conspiracy.

M Y Readers, perhaps, will be induc'd to think that *Rome* was a Place of signal Chastity at this Time, when Great Men were oblig'd to send so far for Harlots. On the contrary, it never was more vicious; and tho' this was the first Instance we find of having it done, 'tis certain that they afterwards repeated the same Extravagance. For the Emperor *Domitian* sent his Favourite *Aretinus* into *Germany*, to fetch some Harlots of the largest Breed from that Countrey. Great Men, wanton with Wealth, have strange Curiosities; they were wont to send to the same Place for *Mares* of a prodigious Size to draw their Chariots: and if the Accounts, which History gives us, be just, these *Ladies* were fit for either Use.

AURELIA Orestilla, 'tis said, was so overjoy'd at her unexpected Deliverance, that she resolv'd, by way of Thanks, to repair the Temple of *Venus* at her own proper Charge. She had in her Youth chosen *Venus* for her *Tutelar Goddess*, and continued, during her whole Life, the strictest Practiser of all her *Rites* and *Ceremonies*. Some Authors seem to intimate, that she and *Fulvia*, with the other Harlots, had all been chosen Priestesses of *Venus*; but this appears a very doubtful Piece of History; for if it be true that they had no *Personal Charms*, they could in no wise have been admitted to that Function. It is certain, however, that *Fulvia* took no inconsiderable Pains to initiate several young Ladies in the Mysteries of this Goddess, and discover'd to them the Secrets practised by the Women of their Country, when they sacrific'd to her. This *Fulvia* was particularly learned in the *Language* of that lascivious Deity, which she used with great Freedom before the Men, having observ'd that this was one of the Pleasures of some batter'd Lovers of that Age.

I MUST not forget here a memorable Circumstance, which happen'd when it was debated to call these Women and young *VERRRES* to an Account: The Generality of the Senate overruling this Point, and *Cicero* finding it was in vain to press their Examination, he sat down, and, with a becoming Air of Resentment, said, *Well then, let them go unpunish'd; for the Anger of a State should not extend either to Fools, or Women.*

BUT tho' these *Courtezans* came off so well, those inferior Persons, who, as we have above hinted,

hinted, were only Machines and subservient Agents, and were not acquainted with the iniquitous Schemes of the Conspiracy, felt all the Severity of the Senate turn'd upon them, and were mulcted in their Estates, as the Laws had made no provisional Punishments to reach their Persons. These Sufferers, who knew well where all the Guilt lay, and what Artifice and Partiality were used to skreen the real Criminals, did not spare to proclaim their Sentiments of the Injury, in having a Punishment transferr'd upon them, which was due to the Crimes of others. One of them more bold, and more facetious, than the rest, compar'd his Case to that of the condemn'd Thief in the *Fable*, who being exhorted to Repentance, said, that he repented of one Crime from the Bottom of his Soul, and that was, that he did not steal enough. *I have stolen enough,* continued he, *for my self only, but had I stolen enough for my Judges too, my Crimes then would have wanted no Exhortation to Repentance.* So bold, and publick, was the Raillery of the Times against the corrupt Part of the Senators.

N O R had *Quintus Annus* any better Opinion of the partial Proceedings in these Trials; for he himself being found guilty, as is mention'd in the first Part of our Memoirs, thought himself cruelly used by those whom he expected to find his Friends: Many of whom did not stick to give their Voices against him; and *CATILINE* himself is reported to have said, when it was debated in the Senate to mulct *Annus* in a Sum of Money, *Let us fine him to satisfy the People.*

THIS could not fail of provoking *Annius*, who, in an Oration which he made to the Senate in his own Defence, said but little to palliate his own Guilt, but very artfully expos'd the Partiality and Corruption of the Senators, who were for condemning him, at the same Time that they acquitted others whom they knew to be more guilty. Nor did he forbear slyly to insinuate to them, that he knew the Reason was, because he had not applied himself to them as They had ; hinting at the *Bribes*, which all *Rome* knew were scatter'd among the *corrupt Senators*. And it was suspected, that this Boldness, with which he had tax'd them, procur'd the Remission of Part of his Punishment, to silence his Clamours.

LENTULUS, whom we have formerly observ'd to have been acquitted on his Trial, began now to be very busy in the Senate ; making Enquiries into the Conduct of others, and affecting a mighty Shew of Integrity. This was another Artifice of the Conspirators, to put some of their own Body upon the prosecuting Part, which was a sure Method of stifling those Discoveries, which otherwise might have turn'd to their Prejudice. It may not be below our Notice, as Historians, to account for *Lentulus's* obtaining the Surname of *Sura*, which was from a particular Action that he us'd upon his Acquittal. Being a Man of a timorous Spirit, and weak Capacity, he was obliquely to be under great Terrors on the Day when he was call'd to the Question : But as soon as he was clear'd by the Senate, in a Transport of Joy he started, and clapp'd

clapp'd his Hand upon the Calf of his Leg, which the *Romans* call'd *Sura*; intimating sportingly, that if any thing could have been prov'd against him, he must have submitted to the Penalty. *Et ob hoc deinceps Suræ inditum est illi Cognomen*, says *P L U T A R C H**. And this he did in Allusion to a certain Custom which they had at *Tennis*, or some such Exercise, that if any one in his Play by Negligence did let down the Ball, he was oblig'd to hold out his Leg, and have the Ball thrown at it: which Action, we are inform'd, the *Romans* call'd *Suram dare* †.

LUCIUS Bestia was never question'd for the Great Bribe which it was discover'd that he had receiv'd: but *Cicero* made an Oration against *Cethagus*, tho' he believ'd it would be of no Consequence: he mov'd the Senate however, to shew his Detestation of the Man, that *Cethagus* might be punished like a common *Gladiator*, which was to fight upon the Stage for the Diversion of the People, till he was kill'd.

OLD Verres was, indeed, examin'd; but taking upon him to speak loftily of himself, and with too little Respect of others, a *Roman* who was present, and shock'd at his Insolence, call'd out aloud, *Ad Saturnalia* ||. This was spoken in Scorn and Contempt of the Man, and to silence him by putting him in Mind of what he had been: for the *Saturnalia* was a Festival, at which the Slaves in *Rome* were allow'd a Liberty of saying what they pleas'd in Railery of their Masters.

* In Vita Ciceronis.

† Cælius Rhodoginus.

I. 2. c. 18. Turnebi Adversaria. I. 7. c. 4.

|| Diop. Cassius. Macrobius, &c.

WHILE the City was thus amus'd with the Enquiries of the Senate, while all were hoping to see their Oppressors crush'd by the Iron Hand of Justice, *CATILINE* was triumphing in his own Address, and artful Management : Old *Volturius* plaide a fly Game behind the Curtain, and was so defended by his Subtilty and the Faction, that his Name was not so much as call'd in Question: and the busie *Hortensius* employ'd both his Tongue and Hands to bring the Senate over to a good Opinion of the *Conspirators*. For Oratory now was not his only Province ; he was become like one of the common *Aquæducts* of the City, thro' whose Channels all the Streams of Corruption flow'd and were diffus'd ; while the corrupted Members of the Senate used their poor Country under all its Distress, as it is seen wicked Men do, that, when a House is on fire, are call'd to its Assistance, and instead of endeavouring to extinguish the Flames, fall every one to plundering and carrying off what they can, and make an Advantage out of the publick Calamity.

THO' *Hortensius* had a Reputation for Oratory, he was infinitely inferior to *Porcius Latro*, whom we have often mention'd in our former Memoirs, and who was not only the finest Speaker, but was one of the most honest *Romans* at that time in the Senate. The Party of *Catiline* and *Hortensius* hated him, because they knew he was not to be corrupted : and we may say this of him, and some few more Patriots, that, at the *Crisis* when the greatest Villany shew'd it self, there was as great Virtue appear'd. In all his Orationes

tions in the Senate, he div'd into the Truth of every Argument, wherein the Service of the Republick was concern'd ; and in the Course of prosecuting this Conspiracy, never fail'd of shewing the Wickedness of the Conspirators. He once had been imprison'd by *Catiline's* Faction, for having expos'd the Malice of their Designs on the People, in an Oration which he made to the Senate. With these good Qualifications, he made no very eminent Figure for his *Wealth*, but still makes a very fine one for his *Honesty*. His Sentences were sweet, yet Masculine ; and he deliver'd his Harangues, with a modest and becoming Gesture.

A N O T H E R noble *Roman*, who strenuously oppos'd the *Catilinarian* Faction, was *P E T R E I U S.* This Gentleman was descended of a *Patrician Family*, and adorn'd the Honours which he deriv'd from his Ancestors with the Lustre of his own Virtues. He was, as *Salust* says of him, *Hemo maximè militaris, qui amplius annos triginta Tribunus, aut Praefectus, aut Legatus, aut Praetor, cum magnâ Gloriâ in Exercitu fuerat.* He had been both a *Centurion* and *Praetor*, or General, in the Army : had spent many Years in the Wars of *Rome* with infinite Honour, and bore the Marks of the Wounds which he receiv'd in his Country's Cause, having lost a Limb in her Service. But his military Prowess was not the most shining part of his Character ; for he was generous, and very sincere in his Friendships : in all Debates of the Senate, whether they concern'd the publick or private Property, he was earnest and steady to that side of the Question, which had Justice to recommend it. In private Life

Life he was remarkable for his Humanity to the Distrest ; and as it was the Custom in those Days for Great Men to have their *Clients*, who were Persons they protected, not for Money, as our vernal Lawyers of these Times do ; but merely for Favour ; all *P E T R E I O S's Clients* were Such, whose Misfortunes gave them a Title to his Patronage.

T H E R E were, no Doubt, some other Patriots of that Time, of great, tho' not of equal, Honour ; but their Characters lie in a very narrow Compass, and their Vertues were less employ'd in combating the Villanies of the Conspirators. Besides, Historians, like Painters, are used to allow most Place to the principal Figures in their Story, and always to set them in the strongest Point of Light, so that, wherever the Affair of *Catiline* is describ'd, the Notoriety of him and his Faction so ingrosses the History, that a virtuous Character is thrown into the Shade, and serves only to brighten the Colours of their Villany.

I T was a very fine Reflexion of *Hesiod*, and particularly verified in the Case of *CATILINE*, that *no Report or Opinion absolutely dies*, which once is grounded in the Hearts of the *Populace* *. Tho' *CATILINE* could evade the Censure of his Judges, he could not by the same Arts take off the Prejudices of the Multitude. They were satisfied of his Guilt, and felt the Effects of his impious Designs too severely, ever to pardon

* Φήμη δ' γε πάμπαν απόλυται, ἀντίστα πολλοῖς
Λαοῖς φιμίζεται.

him in their Minds, or to harbour any Opinion of his Honesty. They knew that where private Property was invaded, their Laws had made Provision for their Redrefs : *Nam Civibus cum sunt eruptæ Pecuniaæ, civili ferè actione, & privato jure repetuntur.* But from *CATILINE* what Compensation was to be expected ? Or, what, indeed, availed their idle Hatred ? As they could not have Satisfaction on his Person, they were resolved to have it on his Character. They vented their Resentments in publick Clamours ; they loaded him with Reproaches, and pursued him with Libels, if any thing could be call'd a Libel, on One who was the publick Mark of Infamy. They drew Parallels from the Abuses of Magistrates in other States, and applied them all to the pernicious Conduct of *CATILINE*, and their own Distress. Now were reviv'd and handed about the Elegiack Verses of *SOLON*, which he made on a like Calamity of the *Athenians*, and which make such a Figure in one of the Pleadings of *Demosthenes**. As they were reckon'd very lively to paint the Frauds and Oppression of *CATILINE* and the Conspirators, and the Miseries under which *Rome* groan'd from their Extortions, I have thought proper to translate them from the *Greek*, and to give them a Place in these Memoirs.

SOLON had a Mind to shew, that tho' the State of *Athenis* labour'd under very severe Distress from the Villany and Extortions of her Magistrates, yet the Gods would preserve her from utter Ruine ; that Vengeance would over-

* Demosth. in Oratione de Falsa Legatione.

take the Iniquity of her Oppressors; and the Realm flourish again, when Regard was had to Justice.

The Elegiack Verses of S O L O N.

AND shall this Empire fall? . . . It must not be,
So Jove and the assembled Gods decree.
Such strong Protection heav'n-born Pallas lends,
And ev'ry baleful Influence defends.
With out-stretch'd Arms the Guardian Goddess waits,
Potent in Aid, and hovers o'er our Gates.
But we our selves against our selves are bent,
And strive to disappoint the Gods' Intent:
Provoking Ruine, while each Villain stains
His Hands and Conscience with illegal Gains.
The Men in Office, as the Vulgar base,
With mean Corruption their high States disgrace,
But instant Vengeance their bad Deeds provoke,
For mighty Crimes deserve a mighty stroke.
Swol'n with Success, in boundless Wealth elate,
Profuse in Riot as o'ergrown Estate,
They know no Mean, but virtuous Rule deride,
And give a Loose to Luxury and Pride.
Strong in Oppression, and in Guilt grown bold,
They board up Treasures of ill-gotten Gold.
The Publick Wealth is seiz'd by private Hands,
Nor spares their Rapine what the Shrine demands:
The Gods and People, equally their Care,
A common Spoil, among themselves they share.
Each, Harpy-like, invades his Neighbour's Rights;
And laughs at Justice, and her Edicts slights.
But she, stern Goddess, all their Actions weighs,
Nor long their righteous Punishment delays.

Thus

Thus o'er the Realm a dang'rous Ulcer spreads,
 And big Distress erects her Hydra's Heads.
 The Soul of Liberty we once could boast,
 Is damp't with Wants, and in Oppression lost.
 Proud of her Gains imperious Slav'ry stands,
 And measures out the unacquainted Lands :
 The cheated Poor, to shun th⁵ Oppressor's Snares,
 Fly from their Native Clime, and Household Cares.
 Now Ruine, like a Stream, outragious grows,
 And in its Way each private Dome o'erflows.
 Not Wealth, nor Grandeur, can its Force rebate ;
 It seeks the Proud, and mocks their empty State.
 Thence with remorseless Haste it hurries on,
 And with the Pallace sweeps the Cottage down.

YE Men of Athens, to my Words attend,
 And hear the Counsel of his Country's Friend :
 Warn'd by Misfortunes, e'er it be too late,
 Learn, that Injustice may o'er-turn a State.
 Revere the Goddess, and her awful Scale ;
 And let the Cries of the opprest prevail.
 Shall cunning Traytors, skreen'd by Men in Pow'r,
 Your People pillage, and your Wealth devour ?
 No ; let the Strength, and Rigour, of the Law
 Pursue the Spoilers, and Corruption awe.
 But happy is the Land, where Justice reigns ;
 She binds the daring Villain down in Chains ;
 Checks the proud Heart, makes Contumely bow,
 And smooths the sawcy supercilious Brow.
 Roots up unripen'd Guilt, e'er shot to height ;
 And makes the Law's too subtle Windings strait.
 Strife and Contention in her Presence cease,
 And turn to Order, Harmony, and Peace.

THE miserable Condition of the Athenian
 People, as express'd in these Verses, and which
 had

had a great Resemblance to the Miseries of *Rome*, under the Depredations of *CATILINE* and the *Conspirators*, puts me in Mind of a Maxim, which has something in it the more extraordinary, as it was deliver'd in an Arbitrary Government : That it is the Duty of all Magistrates to defend the People ; for their Case must be miserable, when they are forc'd to use their Hands to defend themselves against the *Violences* of the Great, which should be employ'd in getting the *Subſtance of Life.* ||

WHEN the Discontents of *Rome* were so high, and the Wants of private Families so pressing, it is to be admir'd that *CATILINE* did not fall by some Tumult of the Populace : But their Resentments pursued him not with this kind of Violence : They assaulted him only with their Tongues and Pens, which had indeed the Effect of galling his Pride, and letting him understand how universally he was hated.

CATILINE was of a very moody peevish Temper, full of Suspicion, and soon mov'd to Anger upon any Insult. And, as it is observ'd of People that are deaf, whenever they see a Laugh, or Smile, in Company, they are apt to think themselves the Objects of Raillery, and interpret every thing as a Reflection upon their Infirmities : So *CATILINE* understood every thing that was said, or writ, in his Time of other Men, to be levell'd at him. If a Writer happen'd

|| Il faut proteger les peuples ; Dieu leur a donné des bras pour gagner leur vic, plutôt que pour se défendre contre la Violence des Grands.

happ'n'd to speak with Honour of *Brutus*, or *Scaevola*, the *Horatii*, or *Decii*, he took this to be done with a Design of Libelling him, by setting their Actions in Opposition to his. If, on the contrary, the Historian represented the Actions of infamous Men, whether Antient or Modern, *Roman* or *Barbarian*, this was still a sharper Satire ; for he applied it all home to himself.

NOR did *CATILINE* alone, but the rest of the *Conspirators* likewise, take to themselves every Invective that was either spoken, or penn'd, against wicked Men : And, by their Clamours against the Authors, kept the Resentments of the People awake ; who now believ'd that all which had been alledg'd against them was true ; so that Things which at first were only read for *Amusement*, by these Men's *Comments* and *Constructions* to themselves, were understood in a *Sense* different from what had been before *suspected*. They best knew, indeed, whether the Copies were like them, or no, and therefore could best make the Application. And, since they were the first, who took all Infamy to themselves, it is no Wonder if the *Romans*, who hated them, agreed to let them have it.

BUT their Capriciousness on this Subject was so odd and Tyrannical, that it was a Crime for Men to complain of what they suffer'd. It was like putting Men upon the Rack, and forbidding them to groan. Such were the Miseries of these Times ; yet, in the midst of all this, *CATILINE* was well enough pleas'd to see *Hortensius* abus'd, and *Hortensius* smil'd, with a malignant Satisfaction, at all the Sarcasms which were levell'd against

gainst *CATILINE*: For, as we have before observ'd, they Both envied and hated one another.

BUT *Hortensius*, who was now as much hated as *CATILINE*, was a much better Dissembler of his Resentments ; he appear'd very indifferent to every thing that was spoken against him ; and when his Corruptions were directly thrown in his Face, in several witty Reflexions by the honest Part of the Senate, (for this was all that they were able to do, the Taint of *Bribery* had so spread itself, and was become, as *Salust* observes, a Contagious Distemper, †) *Hortensius* was neither mov'd, nor ashamed. All the severe Truths which were utter'd of him, could never raise a Blush upon his Cheek ; his Face was always the same, and tho' his Actions look'd sometimes one way, sometimes another, they, who accus'd him of Fickleness, might with the same Justice accuse the Weather-cock ; which, tho' it often turns, is still true to the Wind : So in all the Doubles that *Hortensius* made, he was zealously true to his Interest.

I MUST not forget to observe, that all the Great Men of *Rome* were Professors of one Sect or other of *Philosophy* ; and the Tenets of that Sect which they espous'd, were the Springs and Justification of all their Actions.

CATILINE and *Hortensius* were both presum'd to be of the *Epicurean* Perswasion. This Sect

† Tanta vis morbi, atque uti Tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat. *Sal. in Bello Catilinario.*

Sect place their Happiness in the sensual Enjoyments of this Life ; it is their Opinion, that the Gods never concern themselves with the good or bad Actions of Men, but leave all Things to be govern'd by Chance. That Fame and Reputation are idle Things, meer Bubbles rais'd to frighten Fools from the Pursuit of their Interests; therefore they ought to despise what Men say of them, either now, or hereafter. *Hortensius* adher'd to these Tenets very religiously : And as to one Part of them, he troubled himself no more about the Gods, than he thought the Gods concern'd themselves about him.

I SHALL think it no Digression to enlarge a little upon the Doctrines of the *Epicureans*, as it will give a better Account of the Men whose History I am writing, than the strictest Detail of their Actions could furnish.

THEIR Reason for despising Fame seems to be this, because they can find no Profit in the Praises and Commendations of Posterity. As they denied a Providence, they held that there was no Reward or Punishment hereafter. By such Principles they were a Sect pernicious to all Society. Government, they said, proceeded from Man's natural Imperfections ; therefore he, who by Cunning, Strength, or Deceit, had got the Mastery of others, was become their Lord by Right, and might rob them of their Possessions and Lives too, if either were an Obstacle to the Prosecution of his Wishes.

NOW, Man being by Nature ambitious of Rule, if an *Epicurean* once came to be a Gover-nour,

nour, he needed not to be concern'd at what he did, so he was above Punishment. The Prospect of Profit might very well lead him on to Villany ; nor can it be wonder'd, that he should stick at no Wickedness, which was attended with Pleasure.

F O R all that these Philosophers thought the Causes of Virtues were Fear and Distrust ; they endeavour'd to disgrace Religion by representing it as a Trick of State, and that it was supported by Laws, out of Policy, to keep Men in Awe. He, therefore, that was an *Epicurean*, was by Consequence a Traytor to his Country, and a Disturber of the Common-wealth : for the Cause of the Gods and of Men is the same.

T H E Y of this Sect who were private Men, were Debauchées ; and they, who came to be Great and Powerful, were Oppressors, Plunderers, and Betrayers of Justice. By their wicked Doctrines they endeavoured to stifle the Clamours of Conscience, and would not start Fears to disturb their soft Hours, nor distract themselves with Reflections on a future State, which must be melancholy to Men of their Lives. They commenc'd Villains, and then endeavour'd to reconcile themselves to the Profession by an impious Philosophy, that rooted up the very Foundations of all Morality, and must in time overturn all Societies. For it being their Interest that there should be no Gods, they labour'd to believe what they wish'd might be. And one of their Arguments against a divine Being, was (a Sophistry drawn from their own Fordid Principles) that Interest is the Cause of all Good Nature,

ture, and the only Spring of Action. And what Interest could the Gods have, say they, in making Man, and this Sublunary World? What Return could they expect, or what Happiness receive from Man, to induce them to do all this? By such impious and shallow Absurdities of Reasoning, strove they to rob the Gods of their Benevolence: whereas all Good Men know, that single Benevolence is a strong Motive to Action; and, even among our selves, he is hated who minds nothing but his own Interest, and makes That the Measure of all his Actions. *LVCRETIUS*, indeed, pretends to compliment this Sect, of which he was a Member, by insinuating that their Lives were much better than their Doctrines. But, by the Actions of these Men, whose History I am writing, I must leave the Readers to judge of that Point.

THE Consequence of the Political Tenets of this Sect, was, that the Weak were by Nature Slaves to the Strong, the Innocent to the Crafty, and the Virtuous to Villains: And, it is to be observ'd, that in all Things they acted up to their impious Principles.

THEIR Master *Epicurus* says, that *Diagoras* turn'd Atheist, because he did not see immediate Vengeance fall on Persons that were perjur'd: And *Velleius Paterculus*, a Follower of this Sect, produces the long and prosperous Reign of *Orestes*, who had murther'd *Pyrrhus*, to prove, that if there were Gods, they had approv'd of Murther: The *Platonists* oppos'd these; who said it was the End of good Men to be like God; and that this Imitation is the Life of the Soul:

PLUTARCH has thrown down the boasted Pillar of Atheism rais'd by the *Epicureans*, with one easy and natural Argument: : That the Gods do not presently punish wicked Men, that they may have Time to become better. If *Miltiades*, says he, had been destroy'd, while he acted the Part of a Tyrant; if *Cimon* in his Incest, or *Themistocles* in his Debaucheries, what had become of *Marathon*, *Erymedon*, and *Dianium*; what of the Glory and Liberty of the *Athenians*? *PLUTARCH* likewife maintains, that wicked Men are sometimes spar'd to be the Scourges of other wicked Men, and to execute the just Judgments of the Gods. This is the Case of all Tyrants; and for these Causes was *Phalaris* particularly sent to plague the *Agrigentines*.

SO Men, sometimes, after the Example of the Gods, chuse out the most wicked Persons to be the Instruments of publick Justice: Such, for the most part, are *Lictors* and *Jailers*, and sometimes even the *Judges* themselves. There is a famous Passage in *Greek History*, to prove why wicked Men are suffer'd to prosper. *Cedrenus* tells us, that when a Monk enquir'd of God why he suffer'd cruel *Phocas*, treacherous to his Master *Mauritius*, and an implacable Enemy to the Christians, to obtain the Empire, and enjoy Power large as his Malice; a Voice gave this Answer to his Demand, Because I could find none worse to scourge the Wickedness of the Citizens. ---- We may presume, it was the same Cause that induc'd Providence to suffer *CATILINE* to escape Punishment, *LUCIUS BESTIA* to be a Judge,

Judge, and *HORTENSIUS* to ride the *Roman Senate.*

I A M fearful that I am taking too wide a Scope on this Part of the Subject, and therefore must contract the Argument. There were some, who would have it that *CATILINE* was a *Sceptick*, whose Doctrine it is to doubt of every Thing. Freedom of Opinion, and Serenity of Mind, is what they set up for: Their Notions of Right and Wrong were confin'd to the Laws of their Country; and the Customs, or Worship, of the City or Nation, where they liv'd, determin'd their Religion. This is a Proof that *CATILINE* could not be a *Sceptick*, but must be an *Epicurean*, as well as *HORTENSIUS*.

I T was design'd much to the Disadvantage of *CATO*, that he was esteem'd a *Cynick*, and accus'd of the Moroseness in his Manners, which that *Sect* particularly affected. But happy had it been for *Rome*, if the *Conspirators* had all been *Cynicks*, since that Moroseness was only shewn in Discountenance of Vice and Villany.

HORTENSIUS, on the other Hand, had that Sort of Politeness in his Manners which the *Romans* call'd *Urbanity*: A Qualification which he found of eminent Service, since without it he could not have been endur'd among Men, so flagrant were his Corruptions.

I T may seem at first a very odd Transition to turn from the *Religion* of *CATILINE* to his *Gallantries*: But as his Principles were founded only to support his Pleasures, so his Pleasures

were as bad and extravagant as his Principles. In Spight of the universal Odium that pursued him, and the many Invectives that were levell'd at his Character, he labour'd much to appear easy, and applied himself to those vicious Diversions, in the Pursuit of which he was very vehement, and indefatigable.

LUXURY, as we have observ'd, was now in its Height as well as Poverty, in the *Roman Republick*: And what made the People more unhappy than ever they had been before, made the Great Ones drunk with Riotings, and wanton with Abundance. Therefore did they strain their Inventions to explore new Ways of gratifying their sensual Appetites; Nature was forfaken, and abus'd in their Pleasures; and Love, with which by her Laws Man was allow'd to gratify his Passions, (for she gives us not Desires in vain,) was perverted to a most abominable Use.

CATILINE was publick and preposterous in this Sort of Gallantry: Nor was he alone or singular in the Practice of it. For the *Patricians*, and *Cinædi*, began to be in the greatest Request in those Times, and to be look'd upon as the fine Gentlemen of the Age. Of these, Numbers resorted to CATILINE's House, and found Entertainment, who were publickly reported not to have any Regard to their Modesty. *

THESE

* Scio fuisse nonnullos, qui ita existumarent, juuentutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parum honeste iudicitiam habuisse.

THESE Sallies of *unnatural* Lewdness must proceed from Surfeits of Pleasure, or from a restless Desire of making Discoveries, more unreasonable than his, who, not content with the World that we enjoy'd, would toil to discover a new one. In short, nothing that was common could go down with these luxurious Men. A Poet of ours, I remember, talks somewhere of diving into the Bottom of the Sea, to pluck up drown'd Honour by the Locks : These Men, on the other Hand, were for diving into the very Sinks of Nature, in the Quest of infamous Pleasure. But the *Romans*, who hated *CATILINE*, were very severe in their Reflexions upon his Gallantries ; and were wont to say, that he was forc'd upon these *preposterous* Ways of solacing himself, because he frighten'd Love away from him with his Looks.

MY Readers, perhaps, may be apt to think, that the Gallantries of *CATILINE* are foreign to the Nature of these Memoirs ; but since *Sallust* and *Plutarch* have both taken Notice of them, I could not pass them over in Silence with any Justice. For, in those Orations which were spoken against him in the Senate, when he was present, the Licentiousness of his Amours was thrown in his Face, and made an Aggravation of his other Vices. *Julius Caesar*, particularly, tho' he was a Man of Pleasure and free Conversation, complains, that by the Dissoluteness of *CATILINE*, *rapi & Virgines & Pueros* : A Sentence which I shall forbear to translate out of Regard to *Decency* ; and lest, accidentally, these *Memoirs* should fall into the Hands of the *Ladies*.

BUT,

BUT, to return from those Vices, which were only personal in Him, to those by which the Commonwealth was affected. Never was the Republick in a more desperate Condition : An Impunity was granted to the highest Crimes ; immense Riches were in the Hands of a few Great Ones ; and Loss, Discredit and Ruin oppres'd the State in general. † These were all the Consequences that *CATILINE*'s Ambition wish'd for ; all his Aims of Happiness were centred in the Distress of his Country : Now, having secur'd himself from his deserv'd Punishment, strengthen'd his Party by a Body of infamous Senators bought over by Bribes, and put himself in a Capacity of saving his Fellow-Conspirators, yet was he not content, but seem'd to have gain'd but half his Point. 'Tis true, he had Possession of the People's Money, and he still maintain'd his Dignity in the Commonwealth ; but this was not enough to satisfy him ; the most material Thing was left undone, and that was the subverting the Constitution ; the Attempt of which, at last, indeed, cost him his Life.

MACHIAVEL is very curious in his Remarks upon the Government of the *Decemvirate in Rome* : And, particularly, upon the Conduct of *Appius*, who was at the Head of this Magistracy. This *Appius* took all the prudential Steps imaginable to get himself plac'd at the Top of the Administration ; but he was wanting in his Care

† Scelerum impunitas, ad paucos parentes maxumæ dicitur, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint.

Sal. Ibid.

Care afterwards, to secure and establish himself in that Tyranny. Our *CATILINE* had all the Errors of *Appius* in his Eye, which serv'd him as a Sea-Mark, to shun the Rock on which the Other split,

U P O N this Occasion, I think, it is not going out of the Way to make a short Comparison betwixt *APPIUS* and *CATILINE*.

T H E Former was so excellent a Dissemblor of his Nature, that by caressing the People, by always joining with them against the *Nobility*, he stole into their good Opinions, and was look'd upon as a true Patriot. The *Nobility* were very jealous, and uneasy at the Power of the *Tribunes*, who, as we have observ'd before, were very tenacious of the People's Liberties; and the People, on their Side, inveigh'd as much against the Power of the *Consuls*. *APPIUS* cherished these Discontents for a while, but at length propos'd a Method of reconciling Matters, which was by altering the Constitution, and setting up another Form of Government, which was that of the *Decemviri*.

T H I S Scheme both *Nobility* and *People* concurred in; and *Appius*, who was chosen One, soon made himself their Principal. But no sooner was he stept into the Tyrant's Seat, than, as *Livy* tells us, he threw off the Mask of Hypocrisy, *finem fecit ferenda alienæ personaæ*: He then shew'd the Native Pride of his Heart, and infected all his Companions with his own Vices. He despis'd the Senate, and us'd the People ill. Now began the Populace to think, with Sorrow, on the Loss of their *Tribunes*; and the *Nobility* were not much

much concern'd at this their Affliction, hoping that the Commons, being weary of the Tyranny, would desire to have their Consuls restor'd : *Ut ipsi tædio præsentium Consules desiderentur.* Upon which Circumstance *Machiavel* observes, that tho' the Nobility love to tyrannize, yet They, who have no Share in the Tyranny, always hate the Tyrants.

THE People now perceiving their Error, and the Villany of *Appius*, took from thence an Occasion to seek the Breath of Liberty : The Fear of losing which had brought the Commonwealth into this Misery. †

THINGS being in this Condition, the only Step which *Appius* took to secure himself and his Brother Tyrants, was, by endeavouring to make a Party among the most licentious of the Nobility, by condemning several Persons as Delinquents, and distributing their Estates amongst his Faction. But This was not found sufficient ; for, then it was a Shame to take a Bribe, and the Number that could be corrupted was very small.

WHEN the *Volscians* and *Sabines*, therefore, made War against the *Romans*, the Tyrants found themselves in great Distress ; for they knew the People would not inrol for the Wars ; and if they call'd the Senate together to take Order about it, they foresaw this might be dangerous to themselves. Out of mere Necessity, however, they

† *Et inde Libertatis captare auram, unde Servitutem timendo, in enm Statum rempublicam adduxerat.* LIV.

they were reduc'd to take the latter Course: And, the Senate being summon'd, began immediately to fall on the Tyrants; and *Valerius* and *Horatius* had the Courage to accuse them of all their Villanies; which had this Effect, that having parted the Tyrants, they threw *Appius* and another into Prison, who there destroy'd themselves, while the Others made their Escape privately from *Rome*: And the Consular Government being restor'd, they soon defeated the Attempts of their Enemies.

W H A T we have to observe upon This, is, the Difference betwixt the Conduct of *Appius* and *Catiline*. For *Catiline* neglected the first Steps taken by *Appius*, to wit, Those of making himself Popular. But the true Reason was, as we may suppose at this Distance, he lay under such invincible Prejudices, that he judg'd it impossible to make himself so. But having got into Office by other Methods, he bent all his Precautions to secure the After-Game; and this he effected, by having a standing Army dispers'd through the Country of the *Romans*, by buying the Friendship of the most powerful Neighbours of the *Roman State*; and not only That, but engaging them to send great Forces into the Territories of *Rome*, in Case they should make a Struggle for their Liberties.

HAD *Appius* taken the same Method, his Tyranny must have been establish'd, or, at least, must have lasted much longer. Nor was the Conduct of the *Volsicians* and *Sabines* at all to be esteem'd Politick in this War; who thereby awak'd the Courage of the *Romans*, and hinder'd them from being ruin'd.

B U T the Neighbours of the *Romans*, in the Time of *Catiline*, acted with consummate Wisdom and Policy ; in lying still, and suffering *Catiline* and the Conspirators to do that Work more effectually, than they could have done by Arms : I mean the ruining and enslaving that mighty People. Three times was *Rome* sav'd by the Mis- Conduct of her Enemies, who fell upon her at a Time when she was almost destroy'd by Tyranny and Faction : Wherefore, our *Italian* Politician says, That it is a wrong Course to assail Cities fallen into Discord among themselves : For the Causes of Discord in Commonwealths being *Idle-ness* and *Peace*, and these attended with *Coverous-ness* and *Ambition*, encourage some more *bold* and wicked than the rest, to attempt *Tyranny*. And in a State, or Commonwealth, where that is designed, you are rather to seek to ruin them by Artifices of *Peace* : The first Step to which, would be to make Alliances with that State, and, if possible, to have yourself reputed their *sure* and confident Friend. Thus, when they come to be divided, you are to assist, and abett, as secretly as you can, that Side which attempts the *Tyranny* ; that the People finding themselves in slav'd, and being glad to embrace any Opportunity of Revenge on their Oppressors, may be easily induc'd to throw themselves under your *Pro-tection*, and so become an *easy Conquest*.

I F this Part be well play'd, as *MACHIA-
VEL* observes, it seldom fails of having the Success design'd. And it was by this Trick that the *Florentines* ruin'd the City of *Pistoya*, and made themselves Masters of it : They privately fa-
vour'd

vour'd the Tyrannous Faction, but with so much Secrecy, that the People of that City knew nothing of it, and took the *Florentines* to be their Friends: Wherefore, being tir'd of the Government of their Usurpers, they threw themselves under the Protection of the *Florentines*, who by these Means became Masters of the Place without striking a Blow for it.

TO make an Application of this to our History, it is highly probable, that had the *Gauls* or *Belgians* invaded *Rome* just at the Beginning of *CATILINE*'s Conspiracy, that infamous Senate, which afterwards protected, had been oblig'd to have sacrific'd the *Conspirators*, to induce the People to turn against the common Enemy; and, of Consequence, the Commonwealth would have been sav'd: But these *Barbarians* took a wiser Course in privately abetting the *Conspiracy*, and in accepting Money from the Faction to make Alliances with them. And this was the first Time that ever the *Romans* paid Money to buy the Friendship of their Neighbours.

IT is true, that when they were besieg'd in the *Capitol* by the *Gauls*, being reduc'd by Famine, they came to Terms of Agreement to redeem themselves for a certain Sum of Money: But as soon as *Camillus* arriv'd with an Army to their Relief, he broke the Scales in which the Gold was weighing: Upon which *Titus Livy* makes this memorable Remark, That Fortune brought this to pass, that the *Romans* might not have the Dishonour of owing their Lives to Gold: *ut Romani, auro redempti, non viverent.*

MACHIAVEL, I remember, expatiates upon this Subject, and lays it down for a Maxim, that *Commonwealths*, or *Princes*, who are *wise* or *powerful*, never seek by *Money* to make *Alliances* with others, but by the *Reputation* of their *Valour*, or their *Conduct*. ||

* TO prove this, he appeals to the *Roman Commonwealth* for an Example, who in all the Course of their glorious Actions, never overcame their Enemies, extended their Territories, or purchas'd the mercenary Friendship of their Neighbours, by the Influence of their Money, but the Power of their Arms. † And among other Signs, says this Politician, by which Men may judge of the Power of a Commonwealth, they are to take Notice in what manner it lives with its Neighbouring States. For, when Affairs are so manag'd, that its Neighbours are forc'd to become its *Tributaries*, in order to maintain a Friendship with it, it is a certain Sign that it is *great*, *wise*, and *powerful*: But when such Neighbours, tho' *inferior* in *Power*, draw Money from

|| Le Repubbliche, e gli Principi veramente potenti, non comperano l'amicitia con danari, mà con la virtù, & con la riputatione delle forze. *Machiav.* *Ditcorsi sopra Livio*, l.2. c.30.

* Dove si vede, che mai acquistarono terre con danari, mai fecero pace con danari, mà sempre con la virtù dell' armi. *Idem ibid.*

† Et tra gli segni per i quali si conosce la potenza d'uno Stato è, vedere, come e' vive con gli vicini suoi; et quando e'si governa in modo, che i vicini (per haverlo amico,) siano suoi pensionari. alhora è certo segno che quello Stato è potente: mà quando detti vicini (ancora che inferiori a lui) traggono di quello danari, all' hora è segno grande di debolezza di quello. *Idem ibid.*

from it, This is as unanswerable a Proof of its Weakness and Decay.

THE same Great Statesman brings a fresh Instance from *Florence*, his own Country : But his History there is foreign to our Purpose. Many States in their Decay, 'tis certain, have been forced to pay for the Alliance of their Neighbours : || Neither are the *Florentines*, continues our Author, the only People who have liv'd in this Baseness ; but the *Venetians*, and the King of *France*, who is a Prince of great Dominions, lives tributary to the *Swiss* and to the King of *England*. The Reason whereof is, that he disarms his Subjects ; and that This King, and the States before-mentioned, had rather enjoy a *present Profit*, to *rack* and *squeeze* their People, in order to avoid an imaginary, rather than a real Danger, than to take such Measures, as might give their States *Security* and *lasting Happiness*.

CATILINE, in like Manner, who knew the Decays of the *Roman State*, and how her Constitution was weaken'd and shatter'd from *SYLLA's* *Usurpation*, took Care, as we have above hinted, to strengthen his Faction at Home with the Alliances of Neighbouring States. To this End large Sums were paid, and more prodigal Promises

|| Ne sono in questa viltà vissuti solo i Fiorentini, mà i Vinitiani, et il Re di Francia, il quale, con un tanto regno, vive tributario de Suizzeri, et del Re d' Inghilterra. Il che tutto nasce dà lo havere disarmati i popoli suoi, et havere più tosto voluto quel Re, et gli altri prenominati, godersi un presente Utile, di potere saccheggiare i popoli, et fuggire uno imaginato, più tosto che vero pericolo, che far cose che gli assicurino, et faccino i loro Stati felici in perpetuo.
Idem ibid.

mises sent, to the *Allobroges*, to lend him their Assistance, in Case he should fail of succeeding with the Senate.

But the Precautions of the Wicked do not always answer the End of their Projectors. Providence sometimes interferes with an unseen Hand, and gives a Turn to the most concerted Counsels. Our own Passions are made the Instruments to disappoint our Plots and Cunning. Tho' *CATILINE* now rioted in the Spoils of a ruin'd People, tho' by his Arts he had evaded the Prosecution of an enquiring Senate, tho' he could seem to despise the *Odium* and Reproaches of the Populace, yet he could not so far conquer his Resentments, as quietly to sit down with those sharp and generous Invectives, which *CICERO* made against him in the following Speech.

The † Speech of CICERO to CATILINE.

HOW long, pernicious CATILINE, wilt thou abuse our Patience? How long will that unbridled Fury mock our Vengeance? Does neither the Place, nor Respect of so many Senators, work upon Thee? Dost thou not see thy Counsels all laid open, all thy dark Plots discover'd to the Senate? Is there a Man in this Assembly ignorant of thy Villanies, if he would freely speak his Conscience? --- His Seal, his Hand, and

† Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientiam nostram? quamdiu etiam Furor iste tuus nos eludet? Nihil hic multissimus habendi Senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusq; moverunt? Patere tua Consilia non sentis? Constrictam jam omnium horum Conscientiam teneri Conjurationem tuam non vides? Tenentur Literae, Signa, Manus, denique unius-

and the Confession of all his Confederates have made it plain. O the deprav'd Manners of a vicious Age ! The Consul sees thy Guilt, the Senate knows it all, yet this Man lives ;-----not only lives, but comes among us in the Senate, here sits and takes a Part in Publick Councils, looks round upon us, and with his Eyes marks whom he shall destroy. Yet we, good easy Men, think we have satisfied the State, because we have escap'd the Fury of this Man. There was a virtue once in Rome, when honourable Men would have pursued a traiterous Citizen with greater Vengeance than a publick Enemy. The Law is still the same, nor is the Authority of the Senate less : It is we that are wanting to our selves. These twenty days has that Decree lain by, like a sharp Sword within its Scabbord, which ought to cut thee off, proud CATILINE. Yet still thou livest, safe within our Walls, sit'st in our Councils, and art, every Hour, plotting some fatal Mischief to the State.

W H T

uniuscujusque confessio. O tempora ! O mores ! Senatus hoc intelligit, Consul videt, hic tamen vivit : Vivit ? Immò verò etiam in Senatum venit, fit publici Consilii Particeps : notat, & designat oculis ad Cædem unumquemque nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere Reipublicæ videamus, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac Republicâ Virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis Civem perniciosum, quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. Habemus enim Senatûs-Consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens & grave : Non deest Reipublicæ Consilium, neque Auctoritas hujus Ordinis : Nos, nos. dico, apertè Consules desumus. At nos vigesimum jam diem patimur habescere aciem horum auctoritatis : Habemus enim hujusmodi Senatûs-Consultum, veruntamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam gladium in vaginâ reconditum, quô ex Senatûs-Consulto confessim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit : Te, intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem Reipublicæ molestiem.

WHY were not the Seats left empty at thy Entrance, why did not all the Consular Men depart, and leave their Places when thou satest down among them? Why shun'd they not thee, as they would a Plague, or Ruine? Surely, if my Slaves at Home look'd on me with half that Fear and Horror, with which thy fellow Citizens regard thee, I should forsake my House. Yet thou dost impudently remain among us. Why dost thou not go forth, insulting Man, to voluntary Flight and Banishment? Condemn thy self, and free the Commonwealth, and People, of their Fears. Let Solitude receive thee, for that will fit thee best. Why dost thou stare about? They all consent to it: Their silent Wills condemn thee, tho' thou hast scap'd the Authority of their Voices. While they sit silent thus, they approve thy Exile; and while they suffer me to mention, they proclaim it.

THIS Harangue so provok'd CATILINE, that without making any Reply he left the Senate and Rome; gathering together some of those Troops, which, as we have above taken notice, he caus'd to be quarter'd in the Italian Towns. With these he made towards the City, desperately resolving to sacrifice Cicero, and every honest Man there: for he had left Cethegus and Lentulus behind within the Walls, with private Orders,

lientem.—*Servi, meherclè, mei, si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuant omnes Cives tui, domum meam relinquentiam putarem: Tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera Rempublicam metu: In Exilium, si hanc vocem expectas, proficisci. Quid est, Catilina? Ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum Silencium? patiuntur: tacent: Quid expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis. De te, autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant; cum patiuntur, decernunt; cum tacent, clamant.* *Cic. contra Catilin.*

ders, before his Departure, upon a certain Night to set the City on Fire, to tear up all the Aquæducts, that no Water might be found to quench it, and in the Hurry to cut the Throats of every Roman, who in the late Examination would not be brib'd to their Party.

B U T these his horrid Intents, by the Vigilance of *CICERO*, were prevented ; and noble *PETREIUS*, whom we have already describ'd, going forth with a Body of brave and honest Romans, fell upon *CATILINE*, and his Mercenaries, and attack'd them so vigorously, that most of them were left dead on the Spot. When the Body of *CATILINE* was found, as *SALUST* observes, his dead Looks retain'd the Fierceness of him when living, and the Terrors of his Face still express'd an Image of his unnatural Mind : --- *Repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens.*

F I N I S.



and the first time I have been so
tired and worn out. I am not
able to get up in the morning
and lay out the day.

I will speak with you again
on Friday evening at 8 o'clock
at your house. I will then
have had a good night's rest
and you will be able to talk
with me. I will be here Saturday
morning at 8 o'clock. I will be
able to speak with you then
and you will be able to talk
with me.

A. V. M. L.

